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## FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE

RESPECTING

# IRAQ

## PART 9

January to December 1955

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# FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING IRAQ—PART 9

## GENERAL CORRESPONDENCE

VQ 1903/3

No. 1

## CLOSURE OF IRAQI LEGATION IN MOSCOW

*Enclosure to Baghdad P/L despatch No. 7 of January 8, 1955. (Received January 11)*

Translation

No. 3843/3843/200

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs,  
Ceremonies Department,  
Baghdad, January 3, 1955.*

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs presents its compliments to Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy, Baghdad, and has the honour to state that as the Iraqi Legation in Moscow has been closed down, it has been decided to suspend diplomatic representation between the two countries for the present time.

The Ministry avails itself of the opportunity to express its highest consideration and esteem.

*Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy, Baghdad.*

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No. 2

## FIVE-YEAR PROGRAMME OF THE IRAQ DEVELOPMENT BOARD

*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received February 8)*(No. 37 E. Restricted)  
Sir,Baghdad,  
February 5, 1955.

The Iraq Development Board has for the last three years been working in accordance with Law No. 35 of 1951, as amended by Law No. 25 of 1952, which laid down a broad outline of the projects to be carried out over the years 1951-56 at a total expenditure of some I.D.155,374,000.

2. The records of annual progress have been transmitted to you in Sir John Troutbeck's Despatch No. 92 E. of the 22nd of May, 1953, which enclosed copies of the 1952 Annual Report of the Board, and under cover of letters written in 1954 to the Levant Department enclosing sections of the 1953 Annual Report as they became available.

3. In paragraph 8 of Sir John Troutbeck's Despatch No. 136 of the 5th of August, 1953, reporting to you the reorganisation of the Board into a Ministry of Development, reference was made to the obligation of the Board to draw up a new seven-year programme. At the time, my predecessor thought that a firm of consultants might be invited to carry out a full scale economic survey of the country as a pre-requisite to the drawing up of the new programme. It is unfortunate that, as is not unusual in Iraq, the pressure of events has overcome the good intentions of the planners, and a five-year programme has been produced without the benefits of the knowledge which could have been gained by an economic survey and, indeed, before even the industrial survey being carried out by the American firm of Arthur D. Little Incorporated has yielded any results.

4. I am enclosing with this despatch a copy of the new five-year programme<sup>(1)</sup> which makes provision for the expenditure of a total of I.D.303,306,100 over the period. By far the most important vote is that for irrigation, drainage and dam projects amounting to I.D.107,935,000 and second to it comes the vote of I.D.53,700,000 for roads and bridges. I.D.43,571,000 is allocated for the development of industries, mining and electrical projects. Some of these are already under way and I.D.32,000,000 remains for expenditure on electric power installations and other industries, including natural gas projects. As the report of the English firm of consultants D. & C. & William Press on the natural gas project for Kirkuk envisaged the expenditure of some I.D.30,000,000 on this project alone, it is an obvious conclusion that it is not the present intention of the Development Board to embark on this expensive venture at least on the scale originally outlined by the Consultants.

5. It is of interest that the maximum expenditure envisaged in the programme falls in the year 1956, coming to a total of I.D.74,077,000. After this year there is a decline in expenditure on industries, and expenditure on roads and bridges falls away sharply from I.D.16,200,000 in 1956 to only I.D.4,950,000 in 1959.

6. A further point of major interest in the estimates of irrigation work is revealed in Vote No. 3, Article 7, from which it will be seen that the Bekhme Dam project which once loomed large in the minds of the planners is not specifically earmarked for construction. It now has to compete with other possibilities, at Eski Mosul, Fetha, Tharthar and places yet to be investigated.

7. In Article 15 of the Development Board and Ministry of Development Law No. 27 of 1953 it is laid down that the projects of the Board shall be divided into two parts, Chapter I being those major projects to be carried out by the Board and Chapter II being minor projects for the Iraq Government Departments to put into effect. Chapter II in the enclosed schedules shows a total of I.D.37,125,000 for minor projects. When Article 15 was first incorporated in Law No. 27 it was envisaged that, of the 70 per cent. of total oil revenues received by the Board 20 per cent. would be allocated to Government Departments leaving 50 per cent. for the major projects. If this plan had been followed out the total for minor projects in the five-year plan would have been about I.D.60,000,000

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

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and the allocation of only I.D.37,125,000 is evidence of the Board's intention to retain as much control as possible of development expenditure. This may well engender some opposition to the Board from the Government Departments.

8. The draft of the enabling law under which the new programme will be carried out is also enclosed with this despatch,<sup>(1)</sup> and I will report further as soon as it has passed both Houses of Parliament and received the Royal Assent. Both the law and the programme have been approved by the Council of Ministers, and they are now with the Finance Committee of the Chamber of Deputies, before going to the Chamber for debate. While it is unlikely that there will be any substantial amendments, there is always the possibility that there will be some changes, and my comments must therefore be taken with some reserve.

9. Copies of this despatch with enclosures are being sent to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department of the Board of Trade, the Export Credits Guarantee Department, the Development Division of the British Middle East Office and to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Ankara and Tehran.

I have, &amp;c.

M. R. WRIGHT.

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

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VQ 1106/1

No. 3

# COMMENTS ON THE THIRD ANNUAL REPORT ON UNITED NATIONS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO IRAQ

*Sir Michael Wright to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 7)*

(No. 57. Confidential)  
Sir,

Baghdad,  
February 24, 1955.

With reference to Sir John Troutbeck's despatch No. 52 of the 22nd of February, 1954, I have the honour to submit the third annual report from this post on United Nations Technical Assistance (U.N.T.A.) to Iraq.

2. The first Annex to this despatch gives a brief account of the activities of the specialised agencies in Iraq during the past year. The second Annex lists the positions known to be filled by these agencies at the beginning of 1955. As a third Annex, I attach a copy of the "Category I" programme approved for Iraq in 1955 by the United Nations Technical Assistance Board (U.N.T.A.B.). I am not enclosing a copy of the "Category II" programme, since I understand that funds for it are unlikely to be available.

3. It will be seen that the total of U.N.T.A. personnel in Iraq increased from 36 to 40 during the past year, and should reach 50 if the "Category I" programme is completely fulfilled. As you are aware, this number is less than that of the staff of the United States Operations Mission in Iraq and considerably less than that of the British experts directly employed by the Iraq Government.

4. I have little general comment to add to Sir John Troutbeck's despatch under reference. Last year, as in 1953, the agencies made a useful, but minor, contribution to Iraqi development. As far as I know there has been little change in the attitude of the Iraqi Government and public towards their work, though some officials in the Ministry of Agriculture have become increasingly critical of short-term foreign advisers. Suspicion of the United Nations Technical Agencies, as of all foreign activities in Iraq, is part of the nationalist stock-in-trade, and was voiced during the debate last March on the Bill ratifying the Basic Agreement between the Iraq Government and the United Nations on Technical Assistance; but the arguments then brought against the Bill were, even by nationalist standards, unconvincing. As Sir John Troutbeck reported in his despatch No. 68, the Bill was passed by 65 votes to 15.

5. Mr. Ytterborn, the Resident Representative of U.N.T.A.B., left Iraq after a year's stay last October, in order to return to his post in the Swedish Ministry of Agriculture. He was replaced in an acting capacity by Mr. Pigot, the Irish United Nations Relief and Works Agency (U.N.R.W.A.) representative in Baghdad. Mr. Ytterborn probably achieved as much as he could in the time at his disposal. He was himself satisfied that his time had been well spent, though he complained of the wasteful tendency of the World Health Organisation (W.H.O.) and the Food and Agriculture Organisation (F.A.O.) to remain partly independent of his administrative control. His first five months were largely spent in setting up an office and a small staff; during the rest of his stay he had to prepare the programme of U.N.T.A. for the coming year. In theory, the Iraq Government should themselves present U.N.T.A.B. with a comprehensive request for assistance; but in practice Iraqi Ministries deal with the individual agencies, and U.N.T.A.B. have to provide the co-ordination themselves. At one point, for instance, Mr. Ytterborn was obliged to cut the programme by \$70,000 and could only do so by consulting separately the various Ministries concerned.

6. There was little enthusiasm for the revival of the co-ordinating committee mentioned in paragraph 8 of Sir John Troutbeck's despatch under reference: some of the Iraqi members seem to have resented the trouble it caused, and the pressure to which it exposed them. In its place Mr. Ytterborn tried to persuade the Iraq Government to set up a more authoritative co-ordinating body, of purely Iraqi membership, which foreign experts could occasionally be called upon to advise. But apathy and inter-departmental jealousy have so far stood in the way; and the U.N.T.A.B. representative will probably have to continue to do the co-ordinating

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work that the Iraq Government should do for themselves. Shortly before he left Iraq, however, Mr. Ytterborn did succeed in organising a conference of the Iraqi officials and United Nations and F.A.O. experts concerned in Fundamental Education and Rural Life Improvement programmes; and this conference recommended the establishment of an inter-departmental committee to preside over all such activities. The records of the meeting do not suggest that, apart from this, anything very original was said, or concrete decided; but at least those taking part left with some idea of what their colleagues from different organisations were doing.

7. I am sending a copy of this despatch, and of its enclosures, to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Washington, to the Permanent United Kingdom Representative at the United Nations, to the Head of the British Middle East Office and to the Head of the Development Division of the British Middle East Office, Beirut.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

Enclosure to No. 3

ANNEX 1

## Food and Agriculture Organisation

The number of Food and Agriculture Organisation specialists in Iraq rose from 6 to 13 during 1954. Provision is made for a further increase, to 16, in the Category I programme for 1955. The programme also originally provided for four experts in Animal Production and Disease Control, but these have apparently been relegated to Category II.

2. The work of the F.A.O. specialists is done individually and not in teams, and only four of them have been longer than a year in Iraq. It is therefore particularly difficult to assess their achievements. There is no doubt that some of them have done good work; but few have stayed in Iraq long enough to accomplish very much.

3. Mr. Haig, the British co-operatives expert, frankly admits that he has achieved next to nothing in Iraq, except in his role (which he has filled competently) of acting Chief of Mission. A typical Iraqi muddle involved four experts who were urgently requested to help in flood rehabilitation. The first two arrived in the autumn to find that most of the refugees had rehabilitated themselves; the remaining two vacancies were then hastily cancelled. One of the arrivals (a French Farm Irrigation expert) found work with the Ministry of Development; the other, a British expert from Kenya, was still virtually unemployed at the end of the year.

4. The other new recruits included a nutrition expert, who co-operates with United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund in the Government's school feeding programme, and an agriculturist, who joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation team at the Dujailah settlement. A forestry expert was engaged for specialised inventory work in connection with the air survey of Iraq by a British firm. A hides and skins expert was provided for a post where the Iraq Government would otherwise probably have employed a British expert at their own expense.

## World Health Organisation

5. There was little change in the staff, which increased from 10 to 13. Both the Maltese Chief of Mission, who is particularly concerned with the tuberculosis control programme, and the German doctor in charge of the maternity and child health programme are satisfied that they have made good progress by Middle Eastern standards. In the B.C.G. (anti-tubercular) vaccination campaign 462,000 children were tested, and 175,000 vaccinated by September 1954. 40 Iraqi girls are under training at the Maternity and Child Health Centre in Baghdad, and it is planned to open similar centres at Basra and Mosul. The anti-malarial team at Sulaimania co-operates with the Government authorities in a campaign designed to bring 3 million people under protection from malaria by 1958.

6. The Category I Programme for 1955 (which does not include the salaries of such W.H.O. experts as are paid for by U.N.I.C.E.F.) makes provision for two

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experts in bilharziasis control. This disease is very widely endemic in the south of Iraq, but experience in Egypt does not suggest that the two experts will be able to make much headway.

#### United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

7. The activities of U.N.E.S.C.O. in Iraq are now confined to Dujailah, where four experts are employed under an American head. A recent estimate of their achievements was attempted in Chancery letter No. 1282/2/2/54 of July 16, 1954. It was there suggested that, in spite of the project's rather unimpressive record, there might eventually be some value in the training of young Iraqi "fundamental educators" which was at last properly under way.

#### United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

8. U.N.I.C.E.F. has continued to co-operate with the Iraq Government and W.H.O. in the B.C.G. vaccination, maternity and child health and malaria control programmes. The Government's school feeding service, which it assists with supplies, was last year extended to 186 schools. The milk conservation project goes slowly ahead, in spite of doubts about the amount of milk which can be produced for sterilisation. The Ministry of Development will shortly start building a dairy for the project at Abu Ghraib, though this will not be completed until 1956. Meanwhile Iraqi staff have been training in the United Kingdom, and elsewhere abroad, under the auspices of F.A.O.

9. The U.N.I.C.E.F. representative in Baghdad will shortly be moving his headquarters to Tehran.

#### International Labour Organisation

10. The Australian expert on social security left Iraq and has not yet been replaced. But the Category I programme for 1955 provides for a successor. Meanwhile the draft social security law may shortly be debated by the Chamber of Deputies.

11. The career of the Indian co-operatives adviser in Iraq (he refused to confine his activities to Dujailah) was damaging but brief.

#### United Nations Technical Assistance Agency

12. The Egyptian expert in Community Development succeeded in getting local villagers to help in building his three social centres near Baghdad. He now has to train Iraqi staff to run the centres; so the villagers have not yet had the fruit of their labours. The ultimate value and extension of the project must be limited by its expense.

13. A Norwegian expert in municipal administration arrived to assist the Director-General of Municipalities, and to draft a municipal law. His achievements have necessarily been restricted by the hard facts of Iraqi municipal life, and especially by official reluctance to tax the well-to-do.

#### International Civil Aviation Organisation

14. The staff of two Britons and one Swede remains unchanged.

#### International Telecommunications Union

15. The Category I Programme for 1955 provides for two experts in telecommunications—one specialist in automatic telephones and the other in carrier systems. These experts are being recruited with the full approval of the British Development Engineer in the Directorate-General of Posts and Telegraphs.

#### United Nations Relief and Works Agency

16. The Agency, calculating that Iraq will be the only Middle Eastern country with a surplus of cultivated land in 20 years' time, never loses sight of the country's eventual possibilities as a refugee-settling area. At present its local activities are unimportant. During the spring floods, however, it offered the Iraq Government blankets, foods and medicines at cost price and sent a team of experts to help organise refugee camp administration, health and supply.

17. The Irish representative in Baghdad took over as acting United Nations Technical Assistance Board representative when Mr. Ytterborn left Iraq.

#### ANNEX 2

#### Foreign Staff of the United Nations Specialised Agencies in Iraq : January 1955

##### U.N.R.W.A.

One representative (also acting as U.N.T.A.B. representative) U.N.R.W.A. and U.N.T.A.B. Offices.

##### U.N.I.C.E.F.

One representative, Ministry of Health.

##### U.N.T.A.A.

Two experts in community development, Ministry of Social Affairs.  
One social welfare teacher, Queen Aliyah College for Girls.  
One expert in municipal administration, Ministry of Interior.

##### I.C.A.O.

One communications adviser  
(also Chief of Mission)  
One air traffic adviser  
One meteorological expert } Baghdad Airport.

##### U.N.E.S.C.O.

Chief of Mission  
One literacy specialist  
One expert in cottage industries  
One expert in fundamental education  
One home economist } Fundamental Education Centre  
Dujailah near Kut.

##### W.H.O.

- (a) T.B. control and B.G.G. inoculation programme, Ministry of Health.  
Three doctors (one also Chief of Mission).  
Two nurses.  
One X-ray adviser.
- (b) Maternity and child health programme, Shaikh Omar Clinic, Baghdad.  
One doctor.  
Three nurses.
- (c) Malaria control programme, Sulaimaniah.  
Two experts.
- (d) One consultant for mentally handicapped children.

##### F.A.O.

One co-operative expert (also acting Chief of Mission), Ministry of Economics and Agriculture.  
One soil technologist, Ministry of Agriculture.  
One expert in water-drilling, Ministry of Agriculture.  
One expert in farm machinery, Ministry of Agriculture.  
One farm implement specialist, Ministry of Agriculture.  
One agriculturist, F.E. Centre, Dujailah.  
One expert in flood rehabilitation, Ministry of Agriculture.  
One expert in farm irrigation, Ministry of Development.  
One expert in date processing, Date Association.  
One expert in hides and skins, Hides and Skins Association.  
One inland fisheries specialist, Ministry of Agriculture.  
One expert in forest inventory, Ministry of Agriculture.  
One nutrition specialist, Ministries of Agriculture and Education.



(Supplied by the Acting U.N.T.A.B. Representative in Iraq)

## 1955 CATEGORY I PROGRAMME APPROVED BY T.A.B., IRAQ

Agency and Project Sub. Number	Project Title	Total D.P. cost including local Pmts. by Agency	Experts		Fellows		Remarks
			Number in Project	Total Man-mos.	Number in Project	Total Man-mos.	
<i>U.N.T.A.A.</i>							
160-55 ...	Public Administration ... ..	2,200	—	—	1	6	
111-55 ...	Local and Municipal Administration ...	10,000	1	12	—	—	
112-55 ...	Community Organisation for Social Welfare	22,700	3	35	—	—	
	Total U.N.T.A.A. ... ..	34,900	4	47	1	6	
<i>I.T.U.</i>							
482-54 ...	Telecommunications ... ..	14,300	2	20	—	—	
	Total I.T.U. ... ..	14,300	2	20	—	—	
<i>I.L.O.</i>							
69-53 ...	Social Security ... ..	10,200	1	9	—	—	
	Total I.L.O. ... ..	10,200	1	9	—	—	
<i>F.A.O.</i>							
181-53 ...	Land and Water Use and Farm Machinery	46,866	5	50	—	—	
186-53/Rev. 1	Rural Welfare ... ..	27,100	3	24	—	—	
186-53 ...	Agricultural Institutions and Services ...	25,000	3	30	—	—	
188-53 ...	Fishery Development ... ..	9,800	1	12	—	—	
189-53 ...	Forestry Development ... ..	7,500	1	9	—	—	
190-53 ...	Nutrition ... ..	18,000	3	16	—	—	
	Total F.A.O. ... ..	134,266	16	141	—	—	

<i>U.N.E.S.C.O.</i>							
43-53 ...	Fundamental Education ... ..	71,000	6	72	1	1	
	Total U.N.E.S.C.O. ... ..	71,000	6	72	1	1	
<i>I.C.A.O.</i>							
11-53 ...	Civil Aviation ... ..	50,000	5	60	—	—	
	Total I.C.A.O. ... ..	50,000	5	60	—	—	
<i>W.H.O.</i>							
170-53 ...	Tuberculosis—Demonstration and Training Centre ... ..	31,400	4	48	—	—	
67-55 ...	Endemo-Epidemic Diseases—Bilharziasis Control ... ..	32,300	2	16	—	—	
	Total W.H.O. ... ..	63,700	6	64	—	—	
	Total Category I ... ..	407,916	44	448	3	19	



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No. 4

## IRAQ BUDGET FOR 1955

*Sir Michael Wright to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 21)*(No. 65 E. Confidential)  
Sir,*Baghdad,  
March 3, 1955.*

In continuation of my despatch No. 64 E. of the 3rd of March, I have the honour to transmit to your herewith a translation of the Iraqi general budget law for 1955, which received the Royal assent on the 31st of January.<sup>(1)</sup>

2. The budget is drawn up on the same lines as that for 1953, and the proposed expenditure, at I.D.51,512,160, shows little change from that for 1953, which was I.D.51,227,584 after the addition of sums added during the year by ordinances and laws. Actual expenditure in 1953, according to the Minister of Finance, was only I.D.47,686,000, and was exactly balanced by revenue. However, this reduced figure of expenditure in 1953 included items such as I.D.3.3 million for payment of the balance of capital of governmental banks, which was not an ordinary expense, and also other items totalling I.D.3,081,144 which include grants-in-aid and other non-recurring expenditure not included in the estimates for 1955. Comparable expenditure in 1955 has therefore increased by I.D.6,665,720. The bulk of this increase, according to the Minister, goes to the Ministries of Health, Education, Agriculture and to the administration of justice and internal security. In substantiation of these figures, the Minister states that the percentage of allocations for education has increased from 12.7 of total expenditure in 1953 to 18 in 1955; that of the administration of justice and internal security from 12.6 to 15 per cent.; and for health from 6 to 7.9 per cent. It appears from the estimates that the departments of defence, interior and police were not called on to make any sacrifice, as their share of the total in 1955 was still about 42 per cent.

3. It is not very profitable to attempt to assess by the budget estimates of expenditure the amount of money or the degree of effort being expended on social betterment in Iraq. Budget figures must be considered in relation to the long-term projects of the Development Board for the improvement of irrigation, agriculture, communications and industry, and also to the smaller projects including housing, hospitals, schools, improvement of drinking water, &c., which are included in chapter two of the Development Board's five-year plan.

4. On the revenue side, the budget anticipates total receipts of I.D.50,973,000, which is I.D.8,603,933 more than estimated receipts for 1953 and I.D.3,287,000 more than actual receipts for that year. The continued increase in revenue is due mainly to higher oil royalties—of which 30 per cent. are paid into the national budget—and to higher customs receipts resulting from rapidly-growing imports. Receipts from taxation on agricultural and natural produce are expected to be about a million dinars less than in 1953, owing to damage caused by the floods in the spring of 1954. With regard to the land tax proposals mentioned in paragraph 2 of my despatch under reference, these were not mentioned in the speech by the Minister of Finance introducing the budget. It is understood that he did in fact submit a plan for a land tax to the Council of Ministers last autumn, but the Council are notorious for their skill in deferring unpleasant decisions and in any case the present Government which depends largely on the support of the landed gentry is unlikely to do anything to diminish that support at a moment when important measures of foreign policy are to be tabled in the Chamber.

5. Copies of this despatch are being sent to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department, the Development Division of the British Middle East Office, and to the Treasury Representative at Cairo.

I have, &amp;c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

VQ 1051/192

No. 5

ACCOUNT BY MR. R. H. TURTON OF THE SIGNATURE OF THE  
ANGLO-IRAQI AGREEMENT AND OF HIS VISIT TO HABBANIYA

On arrival at the airport on Sunday, April 3, we were met by the Ambassador and his staff and by Burhan-ud-Din Bashayan, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs. The latter, a date farmer from the south who has only recently entered politics, is in the Ambassador's view showing considerable promise; fortunately he was in the United Kingdom a few months ago.

That night we dined with King Faisal II to meet Nuri al Said, Ahmed Mukhtar Baban the deputy Prime Minister, Bashayan, General Rafiq Arif the Iraqi Chief of the General Staff, the Crown Prince, Prince Ra'ad, and others. The Ambassador and Air Vice-Marshal Brookes, A.O.C., were also invited. The streets of Baghdad were lit up for the occasion of the signing of the agreement, a step that had not been taken for the Turco-Iraqi Pact.

After dinner we were pressed by the King and Nuri to go to a reception for the King at the Officers' Club, where a thousand officers were present. The C.G.S., who is a devoted admirer of Field-Marshal Montgomery who had taught him at Quetta, was assiduous in bringing up to me a number of officers of varying ranks. I was struck by the number who had been trained at the Staff College and elsewhere in the United Kingdom, and by the atmosphere that was most friendly to the King and also to ourselves.

The signature ceremony, due for midday on Monday, April 4, was delayed. This happened because they wanted to spare Nuri the physical discomfort of climbing the stairs, and to sign the agreement on the same table as that on which the Turco-Iraqi Treaty had been signed. The table, however, stuck in the door of the Prime Minister's room. Two smaller tables were provided, but they proved to be unsuitable because of their disparate heights. Eventually we proceeded upstairs to the Cabinet Room which we were assured was never used. After signature I presented Nuri and Bashayan with the gifts we had brought, making a short speech drawing attention to our friendship with Iraq, the new rôle of partnership, and to the fact that this day was not only their accession

anniversary but was also the sixth anniversary of the signature of the North Atlantic Treaty. Nuri replied in Arabic in a very friendly little speech.

In the afternoon I flew out to Habbaniya and met the officers and N.C.O.s of the 600 Iraqi Levies who are stationed there under the command of Group Captain Riall. The present position is that it is estimated that 70 per cent. have so far volunteered to join the Iraqi forces, but a firm figure cannot be given until after Saturday, April 9, when the recruiting drive will be completed. The force is about equally divided between Kurds and Assyrians, and when I thanked them on behalf of Her Majesty's Government for the loyal service they had given Britain, my words had to be separately translated into the two languages. Group Captain Riall arranged for the English-speaking N.C.O.s to meet me, and I asked them to explain any difficulties. The two principal problems appeared to be that men over 38, unless tradesmen, will not be accepted into the Iraqi forces, and that many of the Kurds do not know Arabic, and therefore will not join because they believe they will not be able to understand the orders under Iraqi command. To deal with the second problem, the Iraqis are giving all recruits from the Levies a three-months' course in Arabic, but Group Captain Riall explained that those Kurds who refused to recruit were in fact those who believed that they could not learn Arabic in three months. Morale was, I think, very good. The Levies clearly trusted both Group Captain Riall and Air Vice-Marshal Brookes (who came with me) to see that they were not let down.

I then went on to the civilian cantonment, where I found a very different atmosphere. The Elders had been collected to meet me. The main trouble stemmed from the fact that Air Vice-Marshal Brookes had told them, when the agreement was made public, that a representative of the Iraqi Government was coming out to explain the position to them, but no representative had ever arrived. The Embassy have now succeeded in obtaining a further promise from the Iraqi Government to send a representative either



on Tuesday, April 5, or on Wednesday, April 6. Mr. Hooper, the Counsellor, assured me before I left on Tuesday that he himself was going out that afternoon to see them. There are 12,000 in the camp, and at Humphreya Village, 3,000 men and 9,000 camp followers. The 3,000 are divided into roughly 1,500 with Iraqi nationality, 1,300 Kurds, Armenians and Assyrians who have no Iraqi nationality, and 200 Indians, Pakistanis, Persians and Afghans. Taking the last group first, these do not want Iraqi nationality; they told me, however, that they were not allowed to be employed by the Iraqi Government or by a British contractor, because they have not Iraqi nationality. If this is the case, it is a tragic situation, because many of these men have worked for us, chiefly as clerks, uninterruptedly since 1918, and in tears the Indian Elder thanked Her Majesty's Government for our record as employers and expressed the view that they and their families would now have to return to their home lands which they had left nearly forty years ago, and try to seek work there, as they had no hope for the future in Iraq. The Ambassador has promised me that he will look into this problem and put it right.

The second group wish to obtain Iraqi nationality but at present cannot do so. It should only cost 750 fils (15s.) to get the papers and photographs through, but in fact it takes up to 100 dinars in bribes, and even then there is a delay of usually six months. On May 2, command of the civil cantonment and Humphreya Village will pass to the Iraqis. The solution appears to be to establish an aliens office in each place as soon as possible, so as to avoid the delay and the bribery. This group are, however, very suspicious of what treatment they will receive. The details of Nuri's assurances in his letter to the Ambassador have not been published. They feel that even if they get nationality (and without it, as in the other group, they have no hopes of employment), the relations of the Iraqi Arabs will be preferred to them in the allocation of the best-paid jobs. The Ambassador is fairly confident that he can put this right with Nuri's help.

I saw the three Elders of the Iraqis separately; only one knew English. Their only complaint was the delay over payment of gratuities by Her Majesty's Government. At present the delay is considerable, due, I understand, to Treasury formalities and regulations. I hope that the Air Ministry will take this up with the Treasury, and if

delay cannot otherwise be avoided, some system of advance payments made.

Air Vice-Marshal Brookes is very anxious that he should be allowed to remain at Habbaniya for another twelve or fifteen months, so that he could look after the interests of both Levies and civilians in the early stages after the transfer on May 2. The Ambassador said that Nuri had at first proposed that we should keep Air House permanently, and he feels that Nuri would certainly have no objection to Air Vice-Marshal Brookes remaining for the suggested period. Presumably Group Captain Riall, O.C. Iraqi Levies, and Squadron Leader Morris, the officer commanding the civilian cantonment, will have to leave on May 2 on transfer. If, however, their departures could be delayed, it would no doubt make the transfer a smoother operation.

I gather that after the phased withdrawal of the R.A.F. has taken place, it is expected that there will always be at least 800 R.A.F. personnel at Habbaniya. I did not have the opportunity of meeting British personnel, but Group Captain Macdonald, the Station Commander, gave me to understand that there was great uncertainty in the R.A.F. camp about their future, especially in the married quarters. It was difficult for me to give any definite assurances, especially as I wished to avoid the danger of such assurances being misinterpreted by the Iraqi Government should they come to hear of them. I also gathered that the Iraqis are not easy to train into good pilots, but I stressed to Group Captain Macdonald that the more men we trained, the firmer would be our position in the future partnership.

On my arrival the Ambassador had just completed the agreement about the claims. This appears to be very satisfactory as the Eastern Bank would have had to close down if the waiver had not been agreed. The £150,000 settlement is to be held in a trust fund, of which the Ambassador will be one of the trustees. Present indications are that the capital will be invested in English securities and the income devoted either to founding Nuri scholarships at English universities, or for a British school in Iraq. I mention another possibility in a separate minute on British Council activities. When I was discussing these problems with King Faisal he said that he personally was very keen that more Iraqi boys should be educated at English public schools, and that while he realised the

difficulties of getting into Harrow he would be content if lesser known public schools were selected. I promised to raise this matter. Mr. Jardine of the British Council is, however, very opposed to this idea since he holds that the boys would become *déraciné* and return to Iraq strange and friendless, which he says has been the experience of the King himself.

I was taken round the Embassy. All had been working at high pressure during recent months but the machine had stood the test well, and although I believe all were somewhat weary, they were rightly well satisfied with the results of their labours. An illustration of the volume of the work they

had done was shown in the cypher room, where a chart showing groups dealt with per day had, since the arrival of the Ambassador, shot above the level of the chart boundary, high up the wall to the ceiling. It is clear that the cypher personnel, who had to handle all this work without machinery, had been doing a prodigious job. Equally in the wireless room, it had been calculated that the saving to the Treasury, effected by running our own wireless, was at a level of £15,000 a month.

R. H. TURTON.

April 6, 1955.



VQ 1051/195

No. 6

# APPROVAL BY THE IRAQI PARLIAMENT OF THE SPECIAL AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND IRAQ

*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received April 16)*

(No. 89. Restricted) *Bagdad,*  
Sir, *April 16, 1955.*

In my telegram No. 409 of the 30th of March, 1955, I reported that the Iraqi Parliament had unanimously approved the decision of the Iraq Government to conclude a Special Agreement with us and thereby to terminate the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930. I have now the honour to submit a fuller account of this debate.

2. Both Chambers of the Iraqi Parliament were present in joint session for the occasion and copies of the Special Agreement, which had been initialled the same morning, were distributed to Deputies and Senators before the debate began. His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, at the time acting as Regent, attended the debate.

3. The Iraqi Prime Minister began by referring to the foreign policy which he had outlined in his governmental programme issued upon his assumption of office and recalled that the termination of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty had been specifically mentioned. In its place he had said that Iraq would base her co-operation with foreign countries on Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. For some time it had been clear that the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930, which he had himself negotiated, was no longer suited to current conditions. A ministerial committee set up in March 1953, during the Government of Jamil al Madfai (Personalities No. 66) had recommended that the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty should be replaced by other arrangements which would, *inter alia*, allow the British Government to retain war stores within Iraq which both parties might need for defence and would also permit British aircraft to use air bases in Iraq. The Prime Minister explained that after the successful conclusion of the Pact of Mutual Co-operation between Iraq and Turkey the Iraq Government had invited the Government of the United Kingdom to accede to this Pact and to terminate the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. The Government of the United Kingdom had responded to this

approach and as a result a Special Agreement, as provided for in Article I of the Turkish-Iraqi Pact, had been initialled that morning. The Prime Minister then read the Special Agreement and referred in brief to the accompanying memoranda. He gave no detailed account of these documents which were not available to the Senators and Deputies.

4. In emphasising that co-operation between Britain and Iraq would continue, Nuri Pasa said that Iraq, with her important oil fields, could not expect to ensure adequate air defence on her own any more than the United Kingdom which had permitted the United States to establish aerodromes in Britain. Under the Special Agreement Iraq would derive the benefit of British advice and help in maintaining airfields, aircraft workshops, and equipment and in establishing a radar network; Iraq had also asked for the latest armaments to contribute to land defence.

5. The Prime Minister's announcement that the British air bases at Habbaniya and Shaiba would come under Iraqi command on the 2nd of May, the birthday of His Majesty King Faisal II provoked mild applause. Nuri Pasha then outlined the arrangements for the evacuation of British forces; one third of these forces would have been evacuated before the hand-over to Iraqi command, the second third would leave the bases by October 1955, and the last third would have gone by March 1956. The only British personnel then remaining would be either engineers and technicians, who would train Iraqi technicians, or stores officials. The bases would, however, be maintained in such a state of readiness that British air forces could be deployed there within two hours.

6. With regard to the Royal Air Force Levies at Habbaniya and Shaiba, the Prime Minister said that those members of the Levies who were Iraqis and wished to volunteer for service with the Iraq Army would be able to do so. The Ministry of Defence would assume responsibility for the protection of the air bases.

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7. The Prime Minister concluded by a brief reference to financial matters, emphasising that Iraq would contribute nothing towards previous expenditure at the bases. On evacuation, however, the Works Directorate of the Ministry of Defence would select suitable buildings which would be purchased at prices to be agreed upon. An agreement would be reached about the maintenance of workshops but the Iraq Government would not pay for workshops as long as British aircraft continued to pass through Iraq. Water and electricity installations would also be without payment, though the cost of maintaining them would be agreed.

8. After the Prime Minister's statement a brief debate took place, though not all those who wished to speak were permitted to do so. The opposition speakers, Deputy Sadiq al Bassam (Personalities No. 111) and Senator Muhammad Ridha al Shabibi (Personalities No. 84) dealt mainly with procedure and attacked the Prime Minister's decision not to seek ratification for the Special Agreement. Sayid Sadiq al Bassam, a former Minister of Defence, maintained that the Treaty of 1930 had been ratified by Parliament as an Act and should therefore be terminated the same way. Sadiq al Bassam's substantive criticism of the Special Agreement was that it represented a further set of obligations to which Iraq was to subscribe while Britain would not be bound. Iraq alone had borne the burden of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 while Britain had failed to support Iraq during the Palestinian war. The British attitude towards the Gaza incident showed that there was no improvement and it was therefore not in the Arab interest for Iraq to support a country prepared to condone Jewish aggression. He asked the Prime Minister whether the United States and France were likely to accede to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact. Nuri Pasha replied that he thought the United States would, but that France was remote from the Middle East and her relations with the Arab States were unsatisfactory so that the question of

French accession did not arise and had not been discussed.

9. In response to further questions Nuri Pasha commented on the military aid which the United States was giving to Iraq. He said that the Iraqi Ministry of Defence wished to obtain modern arms and to ensure that such arms would be available in peace and war. While Britain would sell such arms, only the United States was in a position to give them to Iraq. Supply from the United States also had the advantage that the arms of Iraq would be similar to those used in neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Pakistan and Persia, which would also receive arms from the United States.

10. Several speeches were made in favour of the Prime Minister's policy. It was particularly vigorously defended in general terms by Dr. Fadhil al Jamali (Personalities No. 77) who urged Parliament to forget "old imperialism" now that the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty had been suitably terminated, and instead to become aware of the "new imperialism" apparent in the Communist menace. Britain and the United States had relinquished imperialism; France would have to do so. All were equally menaced by the Soviet Communist threat and should therefore co-operate to meet it.

11. A vote was taken by roll-call on a resolution approving the Government's policy and all those who voted were in favour. Some half-dozen opponents of the policy left the Chamber before the vote.

12. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives in Amman, Ankara, Beirut, Damascus, Jedda, Benghazi, Tripoli, Cairo, Tehran, Tel Aviv, Paris and Washington, to the Head of the British Middle East Office, to the United Kingdom Delegation in New York, to Her Majesty's Consular Officers at Basra, Kirkuk and Mosul, and to the Air Officer Commanding (Iraq).

I have, &c.

R. W. J. HOOPER  
(for the Ambassador).

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VQ 1224/12

No. 7

# IRAQI ASSUMPTION OF COMMAND OF ROYAL AIR FORCE BASES AT HABBANIYA AND SHAIBA ON MAY 2, 1955

*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received May 16)*

(No. 111. Confidential) Bagdad,  
Sir, May 11, 1955.

I have the honour to report that in accordance with the Agreement between the United Kingdom and Iraq of the 4th of April last, Iraq assumed the overall command of the air stations at Habbaniya and Shaiba on the 2nd of May.

2. The ceremony was conducted in an atmosphere of warm goodwill on both sides. I enclose<sup>(1)</sup> a copy of an article in the *Iraq Times* of the 4th of May which reflects these feelings.

3. To the Iraqis this event set the seal on the new Agreement with the United Kingdom. It marked the fact that the last traces of what was widely held to be a dependent or unequal position had disappeared and that Iraq was entering on a new phase of sovereignty and equality.

4. The King and the Crown Prince took part. The Iraq Government invited to Habbaniya all the Iraqi Members of Parliament and many hundreds of others. They also asked a large number of distinguished visitors from other Arab countries. The Egyptian Government were not represented by a delegation, nor did official delegates from the Syrian Government attend. But a number of prominent Syrians were present, and most of the other Arab states sent delegations. The Diplomatic Corps were present in force. The Egyptian Ambassador attended, although his Military Attaché had found pressing reasons for leaving Iraq the day before the ceremony. In general, such visitors as I and my staff were able to speak to were most favourably impressed both by the parade itself and by the friendly spirit in which the hand-over had been conducted.

5. A programme of events is enclosed.<sup>(1)</sup> The two sides of the parade ground were lined on the right of the saluting base by a detachment of about 400 troops of the Iraq Army, and on the left by a similar number of Royal Air Force Levies (Iraq). Opposite the saluting base was a Royal Guard of Honour found by the Royal Air

Force Regiment with, behind it, the Iraqi Royal Guard of Honour. After the Guards of Honour had been inspected first by myself and then on his arrival by His Majesty, short speeches, of which the texts are enclosed,<sup>(1)</sup> were delivered by myself and the Minister for Foreign Affairs. The British flag was then ceremonially lowered and the Iraqi flag hoisted. The Royal Air Force Guard of Honour retired and its place was taken by the Iraqi Guard. The hoisting of the Iraqi flag was followed by a salute of twenty-one guns fired by the Iraqi artillery and a fly-past of aircraft. A formation of Venoms of No. 73 Squadron, Royal Air Force, flew over the saluting base on their departure to their new quarters in Cyprus, followed by a formation of Vampires of No. 5 Squadron, Royal Iraqi Air Force, which subsequently landed at Habbaniya to take symbolic possession of their new base, though Royal Iraqi Air Force aircraft have, in fact, been continuously stationed there ever since the floods of last year.

6. Arrangements for the ceremony were made by a joint committee of officers of the Royal Air Force and the Iraqi Ministry of Defence. The efficiency with which they were planned and executed reflects great credit on both sides and augurs well for the future. The standards of marching and arms drill on both sides were high, and the formation flying of the Royal Iraqi Air Force was of creditable accuracy. But undoubtedly the smartest troops on parade were the Royal Air Force Levies, whose last public appearance this was, and whose every movement called forth rounds of enthusiastic and sympathetic applause.

7. After the main ceremony was over and the King and Crown Prince had returned by air to Bagdad, a small parade was held for the Royal Air Force Levies alone on their own parade ground. At this parade I gave a short address, a copy of which is enclosed,<sup>(1)</sup> and took the salute at the march past, after taking leave personally of all the native officers. In some ways, this

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

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parade, marking as it did the final disbandment of a small but highly disciplined and trained unit with a unique tradition, was almost more moving than the larger ceremony which had preceded it.

8. Similar parades were held at the bases at Shaiba and Margil to mark the transfer. The Acting Consul-General reports that both passed off successfully, and that the Iraqi Commander of the Basra Garrison was emphatic in his praise of the good order in which the stations were being handed over.

9. The transfer of the bases to Iraqi command has naturally been well received in Iraq. Although one or two journalists have been unable to refrain from carping comment, public opinion in general has appreciated and been in sympathy with the manner in which the transfer took place. The press has congratulated the Government on the success of its policy, and more

than one newspaper has pointed out that the Iraqis must now see that they maintain Habbaniya—"surely," as one generally unfriendly editor expressed it, "a part of paradise"—in its present state of order and amenity, and must not let it lapse into the state of dirt and squalor of the old Hinaidi cantonment handed over to the Iraqi forces in the nineteen-thirties. As one Shaikh put it, "the British have created a rose in the desert and the Iraqis must not destroy it."

10. I am sending copies of this despatch, with its enclosures, to the Head of the British Middle East Office and to the Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force Levant and to Her Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Damascus, Beirut, Amman, Jedda and Ankara.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

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VQ 1015/6

No. 8

## CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE IRAQI GOVERNMENT

*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received May 16)*

(No. 112. Confidential) *Bagdad,*  
Sir, *May 11, 1955.*

I have the honour to inform you that a Royal Irada published on the 8th of May made the following changes in the composition of the Iraq Government:—

1. Sayid Musa Shabandar (Leading Personalities in Iraq No. 91), Minister for Foreign Affairs, to be Iraqi Ambassador in Washington.
2. Sayid Burhan-ud-Din Bashayan, Minister without Portfolio, to be Minister for Foreign Affairs.
3. Sayid Abdul Majid Mahmud (Personalities No. 17), Minister of Development, to be Minister without Portfolio.
4. Sayid Rushdi Chalabi, Minister without Portfolio and Acting Minister of Agriculture, to be Minister of Agriculture.
5. Sayid Muhammad Ali Mahmud (Personalities No. 76), Minister of Justice, to be Acting Minister of Development in addition to his present portfolio.

2. These changes have been expected for some time. The outgoing Minister for Foreign Affairs has made little secret of the fact that for health reasons he would like to return to Washington where he was Iraqi Ambassador from June 1953 until August 1954, when he was called to his present office. In fact, he saw to it that no one was nominated to replace him in Washington and his family continued to reside in the Iraqi Embassy residence. The new Minister for Foreign Affairs, Burhan-ud-Din Bashayan, was Acting Minister from January until early April when Musa Shabandar was unwell. He played a considerable part in the negotiation of the recent Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement, and although he gives the impression of slowness, I found him in fact quick to seize a point and a pleasant and patient negotiator with a good grasp of international affairs.

3. It had been clear for a long time that Abdul Majid Mahmud lacked the capacity

to succeed in the Ministry of Development. His appointment to that important office was generally regarded as a reward from Nuri Pasha for his having stood by him as Minister of Economics in negotiating the new Agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1951, thereby forfeiting the friendship of many of his former Nationalist comrades. Only by being all things to all men and avoiding decisions has he managed to retain his post for eight months. The Minister of Justice is to act as Minister of Development and the Prime Minister told me that he had decided on this course because he needed a man with legal knowledge to deal with the large and important contracts which the Ministry has in hand, and a man with both experience and firmness. The main drawback to the appointment is that the Minister speaks very little English, which is the language in which much of the work of his department is conducted. I would judge on the experience we have had in dealing with him over the question of immunities for British forces in connexion with the Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement, that we shall find him on the whole just but difficult to persuade when he has once made up his mind that a given course is politically in the national interest.

4. By being confirmed in the position of Minister of Agriculture, which he has held in an acting capacity since September, Rushdi Chalabi may be said to have gained his spurs. In any case the influence of his wealthy father is not something which the Prime Minister would be likely to sacrifice lightly by dismissing him.

5. The reshuffle will entail no alteration of Government policy and certainly not of foreign policy. Rumours of a much more far-reaching change have been current in recent months, and it has been said that Nuri Pasha had thought of bringing Salih Jabr (Personalities No. 113) into his team as Deputy Prime Minister. These rumours are, however, on the wane now, and I think it is likely that opposition to Salih Jabr within the Cabinet and the demands of Salih himself for seats in Parliament

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for his supporters as a condition of his acceptance of office have rendered the appointment impracticable without resort to fresh elections.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Washington, Cairo, Beirut, Amman,

Damascus, Jedda, Tehran, the Head of the British Middle East Office, the Air Officer Commanding at Habbaniya and Her Majesty's Consular Officers in Iraq.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

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VQ 1051/199

No. 9

## NEGOTIATION OF THE ANGLO-IRAQI SPECIAL AGREEMENT

*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received May 21)*

(No. 118. Confidential)

Sir,

Baghdad,  
May 17, 1955.

I have the honour for the purposes of record to give an account of the negotiations which took place for the conclusion of the Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement signed in Baghdad on the 4th of April.

2. For many years and particularly since the Anglo-Iraqi clash of 1941 it has been an article of faith of a large part of the Iraqi public that the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 was "unequal" and out of date. Successive Iraqi Governments have paid lip service to this belief either from conviction or from expediency. The abolition of the 1930 Treaty has therefore always been included in the political aims of Iraqi Governments. An attempt to put this policy into action was made by Salih Jabr in 1948 when he concluded the Treaty of Portsmouth as a substitute for the 1930 Treaty. It was thwarted by a combination of circumstances arising *inter alia* out of poor administrative and economic conditions then prevailing and the gathering storm over Palestine. Since 1948 the time has never been propitious and Iraqi Governments never sufficiently strong or durable to make a further attempt. At the same time they were never sufficiently irresponsible to tear up the Treaty. In the spring of 1953, however, a Government of elder statesmen was installed under Jamil Madfai to carry out the celebrations for the accession of King Faisal II. This Government appointed a committee to study the question of abolition of the 1930 treaty. As Minister of Defence, Nuri al Said was a member of that committee. The committee's report which until recently remained secret envisaged three possible courses for the future policy of Iraq if the Treaty was to be abolished and the defence of the country nevertheless ensured. They were (a) either the creation of a regional defence arrangement with other members of the United Nations under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, or (b) the accession of non-Arab powers to the Arab League Collective Security Pact, or (c) the bilateral revision of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty so that "what belonged to Iraq" (*i.e.*, the Royal Air Force Bases) should revert to her. The torrid summer of 1953 and the torpid nature of the Prime Minister led to the shelving of this report without further action. Indeed, the only official intimation which my predecessor was given of what the report contained were remarks by Taufiq Suwaidi, then Foreign Minister, and Nuri al Said that the Iraqi Government were wondering whether it would be feasible to terminate the Treaty by resorting to a regional defence agreement under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. Jamil Madfai's successor, Dr. Muhammad Fadhil Jamali, was too beset by parliamentary difficulties to consider the question of treaty revision. Indeed, the views of the members of his Cabinet on this subject differed to so great an extent that he found it impossible to include anything but the barest reference to the abolition of the Treaty in his main statement of policy, the Speech from the Throne of the 1st of December, 1953. The Government of Arshad al Umari, which came next, was a caretaker entrusted with the holding of elections and had no mandate for any major act of policy.

3. When Nuri al Said was called to power in 1954, the termination of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 and the co-operation between Iraq and foreign States in conformity with the provisions of Article 51 of the United Nations Charter was one of the main planks of the policy which he outlined in his letter of the 3rd of August, 1954, to King Faisal (Baghdad telegram No. 456 of the 5th of August). This was reiterated in the Speech from the Throne on the 1st of December last. Meanwhile, in response to an enquiry from the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Interior had advised that, from the standpoint of internal security, the period between February and April 1955, would probably be the most suitable time for the settling of all outstanding questions in foreign affairs. Accordingly, in answer to a question by the Baghdad Deputy Ismaili al Ghanim on the 15th of December, the Prime Minister said that he would make a plain statement on the way in which he proposed to terminate the 1930 Treaty in either February or March 1955. This undertaking he subsequently repeated on various occasions.

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4. Thereafter events moved swiftly. The visit of the Turkish Prime Minister in the first week of January was followed by the issue of the joint communiqué on the 13th of January in which the Governments of Iraq and Turkey pledged themselves to work together for their defence. My despatch No. 69 of the 9th of March outlined the manner in which the Iraqi-Turkish Pact grew out of this communiqué. It also described how the Pact was so shaped as to include an "umbrella clause" under which Anglo-Iraqi relations could be placed on a new footing and British military requirements in Iraq secured.

5. From this point on, the question was when the United Kingdom would accede to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact rather than whether it would accede. For accession appeared almost inevitable. Ever since the hint thrown out by Taufiq Suwaidi in July 1953, the Foreign Office and the Chiefs of Staff had been studying the question of our future relationship with Iraq. Our requirements had been broadly decided upon and it had been agreed that in order to secure them it would probably be best to make an initial approach on a military level to the Iraqi Government, since it was essential that the Iraqi General Staff and, through them, Iraqi politicians should be made aware of the military threat confronting Iraq and the possibility of the defence of her frontiers offered by thermo-nuclear weapons provided that sufficient preparation were made in advance. It was felt that after this approach a political agreement should be reached on new and imaginative lines eschewing, if possible, the technique of a bilateral treaty which had disagreeable overtones for so many Iraqis. It was felt also that such an agreement should be negotiated by as broadly based an Iraqi Government as possible in order that it should achieve the maximum popular acceptance.

6. The signature of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact, and the part which Her Majesty's Government had played in shaping it, ensured at least that the idea of an entirely bilateral agreement could be avoided. But it also raised the question whether it might not be desirable, in order to emphasise the regional aspect of the defence planning, to defer our accession to the Pact until some other Middle Eastern State—preferably an Arab State—should have joined it. Such a prospect was, however, blighted by the Egyptian reaction to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact which made it clear that, unless Her Majesty's Government and the United States Government were prepared to exert great pressure on the Arab States, it would be many months before any of them would dare to accede to the Pact. At the same time, the Egyptian Government played into our hands in an unexpected way. The violence of their propaganda brought about in Iraq a revulsion of feeling in favour of Nuri al Said's policy. The Prime Minister, who throughout had kept a group of elder statesmen informed of his plans, drew that group into almost daily consultation and politicians who had hitherto remained silent and aloof, in particular Salih Jabr, spoke openly in his favour. True, no widely representative government nor even a broad-based negotiating delegation had emerged, but this grouping round Nuri al Said, taken together with the fact that he was known to be well disposed to our point of view and had pledged himself to the Iraqi Parliament to terminate the 1930 Treaty by March, presented an opportunity to good to be missed.

7. During the numerous conversations, at times daily, which I had with the Prime Minister during the negotiations for the Iraqi-Turkish Pact, I had taken the opportunity of preparing the way for him informally for a new Agreement between the United Kingdom and Iraq. By this means a considerable amount of ground had been cleared, and it was decided to initiate military talks at Habbaniya on the 22nd of February with the object of exploring the possibilities in greater detail.

8. The first of these talks, in which the Iraqi Prime Minister suddenly decided to participate personally, was successful. He and the Chiefs of Staff agreed entirely with the military appreciation drawn by Air Marshal Sir Claud Pelly Commander-in-Chief Middle East Air Forces, and Brigadier E. T. Williams, Brigadier General Staff, Middle East Land Forces. They also agreed in general on our main requirements arising out of this appreciation, at the same time asserting three main principles:—

- (a) That Iraq should take command of the Royal Air Force bases at Habbaniya and Shaiba;
- (b) that no Royal Air Force squadrons should be permanently stationed in Iraq though frequent visits by squadrons would be welcome;
- (c) that Iraq should take over responsibility for all guard duties and hence that the Royal Air Force Levies, Iraq, should be "disbanded and those who were willing to volunteer absorbed in the Iraqi Army."

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They also reiterated an earlier request for help in obtaining modern military equipment.

9. The success of these talks opened the way for further discussions on the political side, and on the 28th of February as a result of a series of discussions between the Iraqi Prime Minister and myself, Nuri al Said produced the draft of an agreement between the United Kingdom and Iraq which he proposed should be annexed to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact. This document was conceived in such a way as to be short, easily comprehensible and in general terms. Since it derived directly from Article 5 of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact which had been ratified by the Iraqi Parliament, it was Nuri Pasha's idea that it would be unnecessary to go again to Parliament for a ratification of this agreement. The text of the draft was founded on three principles:—

- (i) That the 1930 Treaty be terminated by mutual consent;
- (ii) that the Royal Air Force bases be handed over to Iraqi command;
- (iii) that co-operation between the two countries in the defence of Iraq should continue on the lines of the military talks.

The Agreement would last for five years like the Iraqi-Turkish Pact and so be automatically renewable before the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1954. In connexion with the last of the three points above the Iraqi Prime Minister wished the agreement to show—for the benefit of the other Arab States—the advantages to Iraqi military strength which could be expected to flow from an agreement which committed Iraq to side with the Free World against possible Soviet aggression. At the same time, in order to avoid the appearance of having given way to our demand that we must make military preparations in Iraq in advance of any possible war, he suggested that, in connexion with the installation of radar, air defences and technical help, the Iraqi Government should appear to ask for British assistance which Her Majesty's Government would then agree to give—"we ask, you give," he repeated continually. This meant that certain matters of detail concerning aid to the Royal Iraqi Air Force and the Iraqi Army were included in the draft agreement. The remaining matters of detail, however, and among them the majority of the British Chiefs of Staff requirements were left over to administrative agreements which, Nuri Pasha considered, it would be unnecessary to publish.

10. This was then the position when Sir Anthony Eden passed through Baghdad on his return from Bangkok on the 4th and 5th of March. In their meetings with him, the Iraqis confirmed their agreement with our military appreciation, while your predecessor was able to indicate that the Iraqi draft provided a helpful basis for discussion of a new Anglo-Iraqi relationship. He also drew attention to various points omitted from the draft on which agreement would be necessary before signature could take place. These included the arrangements to be made in case of war, the timing of the withdrawal of Royal Air Force squadrons from the bases, and a financial settlement. Detailed arrangements on these matters as well as on such subjects as pre-stocking and joint training would have to be set out clearly and precisely in subsidiary documents. To this the Iraqis agreed. The Iraqi draft was accordingly submitted to the Foreign Office, and I was authorised on the 11th of March to present to the Iraqi Prime Minister a departmental counter-draft based on it. At the same time I received a long "shopping" list of the requirements of the Chiefs of Staff.

11. The preamble of the Foreign Office counter-draft made the point that the new Agreement would not be annexed to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact as Nuri Pasha had suggested, since this might imply that Turkish approval would be necessary, but would be a bilateral Special Agreement as authorised by Articles I and V of the Pact. Apart from this the most important change was the inserting of a new Article IV, (Article V of the final agreement) which provided that there should be close co-operation between the armed forces of the two contracting parties in joint planning, combined training and the provision of facilities. This Article was intended to make the Iraqi draft less one-sidedly favourable to Iraq by paving the way for the subsidiary documents which would cover the requirements of the British Chiefs of Staff. Only one of these requirements—that of staging and overflying rights—had been included in the original Iraqi draft and was explicitly provided for in the final version of the Special Agreement. At the same time Article VIII was added to cover British aid to Iraq in the event of war. The Iraqi Prime Minister accepted the redraft with very little change, though he objected

to the idea of co-operation between the armed forces of the two parties as proposed in Article IV, preferring that co-operation should be at Government level since he felt that the Iraqi armed forces could not always be trusted to make such co-operation work. A compromise solution on this point was found by using the formula "The competent authorities of the two Governments." Amendment was also made to Article VIII to ensure that United Kingdom assistance to Iraq would be given in time of war only if the Government of Iraq should request it. Meanwhile the Cabinet had authorised me to present the Foreign Office redraft to the Iraqis as an official draft, and this was done on the 20th of March. On the 24th of March, however, again with a view to making the Agreement appear less one-sidedly favourable to Iraq, I was instructed to change the order of the Articles so that the idea of co-operation between the two countries should precede the Articles terminating the 1930 Treaty and handing over command of the bases, and a paragraph was taken out of the preamble and transformed into Article I of the Agreement reading "The two contracting Governments shall maintain and develop peace and friendship between their two countries and shall co-operate for the security and defence in accordance with the Pact of Mutual Co-operation." To this the Iraqis, pressed for time, readily consented, though they resolutely refused to go any further re-arranging the order of Articles.

12. In the meantime, Nuri Pasha had suggested in mid-March that, as negotiations on the Special Agreement appeared nearing a satisfactory conclusion, he should put it as a draft basis for negotiation to a joint session of the Iraqi Parliament before the end of March and obtain their authority to sign it and the necessary subsidiary Exchanges of Letters at a later date. This, he contended, would meet his promise to the Iraqi Parliament while giving both sides more time to negotiate the Exchanges of Letters which, he pointed out, were not intended to go beyond the terms of the Special Agreement. This proposal had to be turned down as it was considered inadvisable to publish in the United Kingdom the Special Agreement, which was still largely favourable to Iraq, without the subsidiary documents which would spell out in detail the way in which our own requirements would be met. Instead, I was instructed to propose that we should press forward with the preparation of the subsidiary documents so that everything could be completed by the end of March. Accordingly a team from the British Defence Co-ordination Committee at Middle East Headquarters in Cyprus, under Air Vice-Marshal Stephenson, arrived in Baghdad on the 18th of March and in conjunction with members of my staff drafted in the course of two days' intensive work a series of Notes which covered every aspect of the Chiefs of Staff requirements, including the transfer of command, the administration of British personnel left in Iraq, assistance to the Iraqi army and air force, air defence, mine watching in the Shatt-al-Arab, Naval visits, pre-stocking in war, the withdrawal of British Units, the future of the Royal Air Force Levies, and a financial settlement. The number and length of these Letters when they were drafted was such that I feared that they might well deter the Iraqi Prime Minister, who is very chary of detail, and might also lead to endless negotiation. I accordingly set about in unofficial conversations with leading Iraqis to discover the Iraqi views on this subject, pointing out the need for such Exchanges of Letters both in order to clarify matters which the Special Agreement left vague, and to satisfy parliamentary and public opinion in the United Kingdom. I was somewhat relieved when, in the course of a conversation with the Iraqi Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, he suggested that, rather than a series of documents which would look like a "never-ending tail to the Special Agreement," it might be possible to include our requirements in a single Memorandum based on Article II of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact which authorised "the competent authorities of the high contracting parties" to "determine measures to be taken" for their mutual security and defence. The numerous letters were thereupon re-cast as a Memorandum and though your Department was unable to agree that this Memorandum should derive from Article II of the parent Pact, since it was decided that agreement must be at governmental and not departmental level, the idea of a Memorandum found general acceptance with both sides. On the 22nd of March, I accordingly discussed the Memorandum informally with the Iraqi Prime Minister on the understanding that he should agree that it should be signed simultaneously with the Special Agreement.

13. Her Majesty's Government's formal clearance of the memorandum was received on the 26th of March. I handed it to the Iraqi Prime Minister on the same date (though by this time it had been informally agreed to divide it into two



Memoranda each under cover of an Exchange of Letters—see below). The time was now rapidly approaching for Nuri Pasha's promised statement to the Iraqi Parliament and the substance of the Memoranda had not yet been discussed by the Iraqi Prime Minister with his Government, let alone agreed with us.

14. It was indeed still far from certain that the Prime Minister himself would accept the text of the Memorandum. He had throughout the conversations tried to persuade us to leave the points covered by the Memorandum for inclusion in subsequent Exchanges of Letters at the departmental level. It had required the utmost firmness to induce him to accept in principle the necessity of a Memorandum (or Exchange of Letters) which would accompany the Agreement itself, and as the time for a final decision drew nearer he continued to do his best to evade it. In overcoming his reluctance, two factors played a determining part. First, it was possible to play on the fact that he was the prisoner of his own time-table. No Memorandum, no announcement to Parliament of an agreement. Second, I was able to convince the King and the Crown Prince and a number of elder statesmen that a Memorandum to accompany the Agreement was not only essential to us but necessary both to avoid confusion in the future and as the inescapable condition for the aid which under the Agreement the United Kingdom promised to Iraq.

15. In the spate of negotiation which took place in the next four days I was able to use to considerable advantage your predecessor's acceptance—at some inconvenience to himself—that we should help Nuri Pasha honour his promise to his Parliament on condition that all the texts were agreed by the 30th of March. For pressed for time he accepted, with very few initial amendments and subject to the views of his Cabinet, the text of the Memorandum. His main observations at this stage were that the financial arrangement should form a separate Memorandum under a separate Exchange of Letters, and that Her Majesty's Government should agree with the Iraqi Government to share the cost of maintenance and operation of services and installations used jointly. He also urged that the fourteen paragraphs of the Memorandum on military matters should be condensed into twelve by telescoping. On the morning of the 26th of March he described the texts to the Cabinet and his military advisers and later he showed them to the Crown Prince and elder statesmen, and as a result produced a further series of amendments, the most important of which was that the Iraqi Government would not agree to take over the Royal Air Force Levies in formed units, nor would they agree to make any promises concerning the resettlement of civilians at Habbaniya whose employment was discontinued. Insistence that each party should bear financial responsibility for installations used by it was repeated. After a further meeting with the elder statesmen he returned the same evening with yet another list of amendments, the most important of which was that Her Majesty's Government and not the Iraqi Government should pay for any new installations required by British personnel in Iraq. This time he was in a mood of deep dejection. He talked earnestly of suspending negotiations because he could not believe that the details of the memoranda could be prepared in time for the 30th of March. It was only with some difficulty that I succeeded in calming him. I immediately set on foot enquiries to find out the cause of his discouragement. The Crown Prince, who came to see me, told me that the Prime Minister was mentally very tired and had been depressed by bad news from Syria. It was also evident that he was under some misapprehension concerning timing and that he believed that the welter of executive detail concerning the handing over of the bases would have to be completed by the 30th of March as well as the broad principles of agreement embodied in the Memoranda. The Minister of the Interior said that in the Cabinet the Prime Minister had been almost incoherent and he advised that we should try to spare him as far as possible the burden of further negotiations. In view of this, much of the final discussion of the Memoranda took place between members of the Iraqi Chief of Staff and Acting Foreign Minister and members of my staff. Questions were where necessary referred to Nuri Pasha but this was done by his own people in Arabic and he was not subjected to the strain of negotiating and of speaking in English.

16. In fact, the Iraqi amendments to the Memoranda were not as numerous or far-reaching as Nuri had imagined and at a meeting of the Cabinet and his Service Advisers on the morning of the 27th of March the Memoranda were substantially accepted. The Iraqis agreed to prolong the existing arrangements

for judicial immunity and customs privileges for British service personnel in Iraq until a new agreement should be reached on the lines of the Status of Forces of Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty. They supported the Prime Minister in his earlier objections concerning the transfer of the Levies and the resettlement of civilians and on the question of sharing costs. They agreed where new installations would be necessary for British personnel to provide the land free of charge on condition that the cost of building would be borne by Her Majesty's Government. They objected to certain phrases particularly in paragraph 3 which gave the impression that organised British forces would continue to serve in Iraq, arguing that the only British personnel serving in Iraq after the rundown of forces had been completed would be (a) technical personnel for the staging of aircraft in transit and for the maintenance of visiting squadrons and (b) experts employed either to train Iraqi forces or help in the installation of new defence works. On each of these matters agreement was reached in the form of a compromise. In the case of the Levies it was agreed that they should transfer on a voluntary basis. In respect of the civilians displaced at Habbaniya, the Iraqi Prime Minister undertook by a separate letter to help the British Government in its proposals to make financial contribution for the resettlement of civilians and the vocational training of both civilians and Levies. The question of payment by Her Majesty's Government for new installations could not be resolved and had to be shelved for *ad hoc* consideration at a later stage by using a formula which said that (paragraph 12 (b)) "where new installations are from time to time agreed to be necessary for the purposes of the Special Agreement in this Memorandum, the terms of their provision shall be agreed between the two Governments." On the question of sharing costs of jointly used services it was agreed that each Government should be responsible for the operation and maintenance of immovable property in its ownership and that they should agree later on the apportionment of operation and maintenance costs of installation which served the needs of both Governments (Memorandum 2, paragraph (c)). These matters were finally agreed on the evening of the 29th of March.

17. On the 28th of March, the Chief of the General Staff, on instruction from his Prime Minister, raised with me the question of the title of the Memoranda. In the draft Exchanges of Letters which covered them, the Memoranda were referred to as annexes. The Iraqi Cabinet did not like this word since an annex might well raise questions of principle going beyond the scope of the Agreement to which it was attached. General Rafiq Arif maintained that, as in the present case the Memorandum was purely explanatory, the word annex might be misconstrued. He urged the use of "explanatory Memoranda." This we had to resist since we could not envisage any title which might make the Memoranda appear of secondary importance to the Agreement but it was decided to use the word "Memorandum" instead of "Annex" in the Exchanges of Letters. The motive behind this *démarche* was of course Nuri Pasha's reluctance to support the Memorandum to his own Parliament. By describing them as "explanatory Memoranda," which is what he actually did in his speech to the Joint Session of the Iraqi Parliament on the 30th of March, despite our refusal to employ this term, he still sought to make little of the details set out in the two documents, in order, I think, to give the greater importance to the benefits obtained by Iraq in the Special Agreement.

18. One final hurdle now remained. The question of timing which in a broader sense had beset us throughout the course of these negotiations again asserted itself in an acute form. The Iraqi Parliament normally meets at 10 a.m. local time (7 a.m. GMT) whereas the House of Commons meets in the afternoon. Thus, if the Iraqi Prime Minister were to make his statement to the House at the usual hour it would become public property at the latest by noon—some hours before the Secretary of State could make his announcement to the House. Nuri Pasha was very reluctant to put the Iraqi Chamber into a bad mood by changing their hour of meeting. But after various exchanges of telegrams he eventually agreed on the evening of the 29th of March to make his statement to the Iraqi Parliament at 4 p.m. (1 p.m. GMT) on the following day only some two hours before the announcement in the House of Commons.

19. The texts of the Special Agreement and the two Exchanges of Letters and attached Memoranda were initialled by the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs and myself at midday on the 30th of March. We initialled at the same time the



Exchange of Letters concerning help to the Levies and civilians at Habbaniya and a letter from myself to the Iraqi Prime Minister defining the word "forces" as used in paragraph 3 of the Memorandum concerning immunities. They were signed on the 4th of April.

20. I have reported in my despatch No. 89 of the 16th of April the course of the Joint Session of the Iraqi Senate and Chamber of Deputies on the 30th of March in which they gave their consent to the signature of the Special Agreement.

21. By these agreements Iraq, in return for the removal of what were considered slurs on her sovereignty, gives substance to the conception of regional defence embodied in the Iraqi-Turkish Pact. Not only does she prepare to defend herself by strengthening her forces and by training them with our own but she agrees to joint planning and the advance preparation of warlike stores and forward airfields. On the assumption that it is a vital British interest to deny the Middle East to a possible Soviet aggressor by stemming his advance as far to the north as possible, this agreement is obviously of value to the British Commonwealth of Nations and to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation as well as to Turkey in particular. It embodies, I think, the best terms we could expect to obtain, especially in view of the less favourable Anglo-Egyptian settlement of 1954. That it does so is largely due to the foresight and breadth of vision of Nuri al Said. He realises that in the event of a general war the need of the Soviet command to deprive the West of the oil of Iraq and Arabia and their desire to push southwards athwart the Suez Canal would inevitably involve Iraq in hostilities. He sincerely believes that a Russian occupation would be a disaster for his country or, expressed in the most cynical terms, for the class and way of life which he represents. Unlike many another Arab politician, however, he does not blink at these realities. Nor does he surrender to the fact that many of his countrymen are not prepared to see reality so starkly. Instead, he has in the course of the last eight months so shaped the internal situation of Iraq—perhaps by not the most democratic of methods—as to make his views and policy acceptable. Thereafter he has sought the means to exploit the realities of the situation as he sees it, in the manner most beneficial to Iraq. By aligning Iraq with the West he has in his view obtained for her the best possible chance of defence against Soviet aggression, while demanding as the price of his co-operation the maximum possible help from ourselves (and also, he hopes, from the United States) in strengthening and preparing the Iraqi armed forces.

22. Beneficial though the new agreements are to Iraq and to ourselves, I must repeat my previous and emphatic warnings that we can have no certainty that they will necessarily prove to be lasting and durable. The disappearance of Nuri al Said from the political scene would certainly lessen the impetus which co-operation between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of Iraq has now received. It is likely that he would be succeeded by weaker men who may either allow the Agreement to run its full five years and then denounce both the Iraqi-Turkish Pact and the Agreement, or even under pressure from the Left and from ultra-nationalist opinion both at home and in Syria and Egypt seek to denounce the Agreement in mid-term or frustrate its purposes. To such people Nuri Pasha has unfortunately left certain weapons ready to hand. In the first place he dissolved the Chamber of Deputies, which resulted from the election of June 1954, almost before it had convened, despite the fact that he enjoyed a majority of supporters in it. For it he substituted a Chamber obviously elected by rigging the polls. Nor, thereafter, did he pass the Agreement through the two Chambers in the usual manner, as had been done in the case of the 1930 Treaty. Instead, he convened a Joint Session of both Houses before which he laid only the Special Agreement, withholding the Memoranda—this, despite the fact that he knew that the Memoranda would be laid before the House of Commons on the 30th of March and would be fully debated. True, he could and did maintain that the ratification of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact gave him authority to conclude special agreements with acceding States; and that the procedure adopted was discussed and approved by Parliament itself. True also, the Memoranda did not go further than the Special Agreement. But these acts of political timidity have left the field open to would-be critics.

23. The future of the Special Agreement as of the Iraqi-Turkish Pact is therefore far from automatically assured. It depends, as I have said before, on the continuing cordiality of our day-to-day relations with succeeding Iraqi

Governments. This in turn seems to depend on two factors. The first is the ability of the Iraqi leaders to find, as they have not yet succeeded in doing, general public acceptance of their policies. If their internal policies do not enlist the sympathy of the population, it is unlikely that their foreign policies will be immune from criticism. Moreover, we have seen only too often weak Middle Eastern Governments which to divert attention from their shortcomings at home have adopted foreign policies based on the narrowest nationalism. This course future Iraqi Governments will have to be continually encouraged to eschew. The second is that both the Iraqi leaders and population should be convinced that their general interest lies in observing and prolonging the Pact and the Special Agreement. To this end we must, I conclude, bend our efforts to make it appear that both are well worthwhile. We must ensure that Iraq receives aid in building up her armed forces. Further, we must aim at the gradual absorption into the Pact of the Middle Eastern and other Arab States. Iraq has now become a stone in the wall of defence against Soviet aggression but she is still a loose stone, needing both cementing into position and the support of other stones before the wall can be sound.

24. In concluding this despatch I would like to place on record the gratitude I owe to Mr. E. F. W. Besly, C.M.G., who was sent out to act as my Legal Adviser for the duration of the negotiations; to Air Marshal Sir Claude Pelly, K.C.B., C.B.E., M.C., Commander-in-Chief Middle East Air Force; and to the members of the Middle Eastern Section of the British Defence Co-ordination Committee, who with my staff worked unremittingly in the drafting of the Memoranda. I am also particularly grateful for the understanding, promptitude and forbearance with which your Department dealt with the many delicate and important issues which arose during five weeks of intense and difficult negotiation.

25. I am sending a copy of this despatch to Her Majesty's Representatives at Amman, Beirut, Cairo, Damascus, Jedda, Tripoli, Benghazi, Ankara, Tehran, Washington, Paris, Tel Aviv, the Head of the British Middle East Office, the British Political Resident, Bahrain, Her Majesty's Consular Officers at Basra, Kirkuk, and Mosul and to the Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air Force, Habbaniya.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.



VQ 1114/1

No. 10

## THE IRAQ BUDGET FOR 1954

*Sir Michael Wright to Sir Anthony Eden. (Received March 21)*(No. 64 E. Confidential)  
Sir,Baghdad,  
March 13, 1955.

With reference to my predecessor's despatch No. 107 E. (EQ 1115/2) of the 19th of June, 1953, I have the honour to report that the Iraqi budget for the financial year 1954 has been passed by both Houses of Parliament and received the Royal assent on the 22nd of January. A translation of the general budget law is enclosed.<sup>(1)</sup>

2. It will be noted that this budget is in respect of a financial year which has nearly ended. This is due to the political changes which took place in the first half of 1954. It will be recalled that the Government of Dr. Fadhil al Jamali, which assumed power in the autumn of 1953, was, for Iraq, unusually progressive, and its Minister of Finance, Abdul Kerim al Uzri, let it be known that he intended to introduce a land tax intended to fall most heavily on the big landowners, who constitute the richest element in the country but who hitherto have not had to pay any direct taxes on their land. Opposition to this measure became so strong in both Houses of Parliament, where the landowners had secure majorities, that when Dr. Jamali reformed his Cabinet in April, the Minister of Finance was transferred to the Ministry of Development and was replaced by Ali Mumtaz, who began to draft a budget on less controversial lines. However, the Jamali Government resigned before his budget could be submitted. A caretaker Government held office for some months during elections, and although a new Government headed by Nuri al Said came to power on the 3rd of August, Parliament was dissolved and further elections held in September. During all this time, and in fact until the passing of the present budget law, the needs of Government departments, &c., have been met by bi-monthly appropriations approved by Parliament on the basis of the 1953 budget law.

3. The passing of the 1954 budget law at the tail end of the financial year thus merely confirms actions already taken, but it was apparently constitutionally necessary before the 1955 budget could be submitted to Parliament. This latter budget has in turn already been approved by Parliament, and received the Royal assent on the 31st of January.

4. As was to be expected from a budget divorced from planning and merely confirming routine appropriations already voted, the 1954 budget does not call for any special comment as regards the votes for individual departments. Expenditure as a whole appears to have got somewhat out of hand, and reached the high total of I.D.57,609,370. The Ministries of Health, Education and Agriculture received appropriate increases, but the lion's share went as usual to the Ministries of Defence and Interior and to the Police, which between them received no less than I.D.23,515,600, or nearly 41 per cent. of the total.

5. On the revenue side, there were increases in the section covering property tax, income tax, and stamp duty, due mainly to higher oil royalties. Customs and excise revenues were written up from I.D.15.5 million in 1953 to I.D.19 million in 1954 in consequence of the continued expansion in imports.

6. The budget shows a deficit of I.D.9,097,370, which is presumably set off against the surpluses of I.D.10,815,000 accumulated during the financial years 1950, 1951 and 1952. Although the budget of 1953 anticipated a deficit of I.D.5,632,138, as reported in my predecessor's despatch under reference, it now appears from statements by the Minister of Finance that this deficit did not materialise, and that revenue and expenditure in 1953 approximately balanced.

7. The usual supplementary budgets of the Port of Basra, the Fao Bar Dredging Scheme, and the Iraq Railway Administration, &c., are enclosed as annexes to the main budget.

Copies of this despatch are being sent to the Commercial Relations and Exports Department, the Development Division of the British Middle East Office, and the Treasury Representative at Cairo.

I have, &amp;c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

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VQ 1015/8

No. 11

LEGISLATION PASSED BY THE 15th SESSION OF THE  
IRAQ PARLIAMENT*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received June 13)*(No. 130. Confidential)  
Sir,Baghdad,  
June 7, 1955.

I reported in my despatch No. 129 of the 1st of June that the Iraq Parliament adjourned on the 31st of May for the summer recess, which normally lasts until the 1st of December. I now have the honour to forward a list<sup>(1)</sup> of the legislation passed by the Iraq Parliament during this session and to offer my comments thereon.

2. The present Parliament was elected in September 1954 under conditions which allowed the Prime Minister to choose a Chamber of his own supporters as the price of his agreement to take office. It is therefore not surprising that there has been no significant opposition in Parliament; indeed it has been rare during this 15th session of the Iraq Parliament for there to be any hostile vote at all. This lack of opposition has enabled the Government to govern, unlike the Government led by Dr. Fadhil al Jamali in the autumn of 1953; and when a Government measure has been presented, it has ultimately been approved. Such minor proposals as have been presented for internal reform have, however, provoked opposition. Work in parliamentary committees has been very slow as a result of apathy and inefficiency, probably inevitable given the mediocrity of many of the Deputies and the illiteracy of some.

3. For us the main significance of the session was of course the Government's success in foreign policy. The Speech from the Throne, which opened the session on the 1st of December, 1954, referred to "the strengthening of relations with other States on a basis not contrary to the Charter of the United Nations" and to "the termination of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty." By the end of the session this had been achieved by the Pact for Mutual Co-operation between Iraq and Turkey, by the accession of the United Kingdom, and by the Special Agreement between Iraq and the United Kingdom concluded under that pact. The pact itself was presented to Parliament for ratification on the 26th of February and was approved after debate in the Chamber of Deputies by 112 votes to 4, while in the Senate only one Senator voted against. When the Special Agreement came up for approval on the 30th of March, the Prime Minister, despite the overwhelming support which he could expect from Parliament, decided to curtail the ordinary constitutional processes by calling a joint session of both Houses and seeing that their acceptance of it was unanimous. In particular he took the precaution of presenting to Parliament only the text of the Special Agreement itself and not of the accompanying memoranda although these had been made public in London. In maintaining unity on foreign policy throughout the session, the Prime Minister was assisted by the Egyptian propaganda campaign against Iraq, which defeated itself by its violence, and which rallied to him senior members of the Senate, including Salih Jabr, who had previously been estranged.

4. Since Nuri took office last August, with Said Qazzaz as his Minister of the Interior, there has been a "strong" Government in the sense that no scope has been given to the extreme Opposition groups which were so active in Dr. Jamali's day. The Government made its intentions clear during the autumn by a series of ordinances and these ordinances duly received, in the course of the session, the parliamentary approval which is required by the Constitution. They establish close control by the Government of all forms of association, of the Press and of the professions. The Baghdad Penal Code has been amended to enable the Government to take stricter measures against Communists and their sympathisers, and, if necessary, to deprive them of their Iraqi nationality. The Government took the opportunity to break off relations with the Soviet Union on the 3rd of January, 1955, holding that it was inconsistent with their internal policy to maintain diplomatic relations with a Communist Power. Not all the sanctions for which these laws provide, have had to be applied, but Parliament has made it clear that it would endorse any action the Government felt itself compelled to take in the interests of internal security.

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

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5. Nuri's formula for government includes good administration as well as political firmness. The administrative measures which Parliament has approved have much assisted the over-worked and poorly-staffed Ministries in Baghdad. During most of 1954 the Ministry of Finance was unable to authorise any new expenditure as the 14th session of the Iraq Parliament had failed to pass the budget for the current year. The 15th session made good this deficiency and approved the budgets for 1954 and 1955. The variety of administrative detail included in the list of legislation forwarded with this despatch is also indicative of the ability of the Ministries to get ahead with routine administration after the inefficiency of the previous two Parliaments.

6. The Speech from the Throne in December 1954 spoke of "social justice" and the need to improve the standard of living in Iraq. There was specific mention of the need to improve conditions in the rural districts and to distribute land to peasants. The Speech from the Throne also promised to improve social standards in the villages. The Government accordingly issued two ordinances dealing with land problems and their fate is a good indication of the improbability of any serious reform receiving the approval of the present Parliament, largely composed as it is of landowners. The first ordinance dealt with the notoriously backward province of Amara and proposed to take from the Shaikhs a proportion of the Government-owned land which they hold on lease and to distribute it to the peasants. This proposal, together with that to introduce taxation of land, was a main cause in the downfall of Dr. Jamali's first Minister of Finance, Saiyid Abdul Karim al Uzri, the leading reformist of that Government. The present ordinance is a much milder measure than that which Saiyid Abdul Karim al Uzri proposed; nevertheless it met much opposition from the Shaikhs and although the ordinance has received parliamentary approval it has been drafted in a way that virtually prevents it being put into effect. The Ministry of Finance have accordingly taken no steps to set up the committees required to undertake the redistribution of lands and clearly intend the ordinance to be shelved. The same opposition from landed interests also blocked effectively the second ordinance, which provided for the Government to reclaim for State purposes a percentage of the Government lands which had been leased or granted to private individuals, giving in return to the landlords permanent freehold tenure of the remainder. In Baghdad where this law operated to the benefit of the large landowners action was immediately taken under the ordinance in advance of parliamentary approval. The landed interests in the provinces however, which were adversely affected, succeeded in blocking the ordinance until they had won major concessions from the Government. The Government is itself intensely conservative in internal matters and Parliament has proved itself during the session to be incapable of realising the need for any reform if it is at the expense of short-term personal interest.

I am copying this despatch, less enclosure, to the Head of the British Middle East Office in Nicosia.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

CONFIDENTIAL

VQ 1015/9

No. 12

# POSITION OF NURI SAID'S GOVERNMENT

*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received June 20)*

(No. 135. Confidential)  
Sir,

Bagdad,  
June 15, 1955.

The end of the Ordinary Session of the Iraqi Parliament and the departure of the Prime Minister on holiday provide a convenient opportunity to review the position of the Government of General Nuri as Said after ten months in office.

2. When Nuri Pasha came to power in August 1953, the administration of Iraq was drifting towards anarchy. He abruptly arrested this trend. By a series of Ordinances he reasserted the authority of the Government. He curbed the power for mischief of the political parties and the press alike by abolishing both; although some newspapers, drastically reduced in number and much chastened, were allowed to reappear forthwith. Political parties remain in abeyance. Agitators from Communist "front" organisation were made subject to the law declaring communism illegal and were imprisoned. Other agitators from schools and colleges were summarily called up into the army reserve, their privilege of deferment being abolished. The public in general accepted these measures. In particular, the land-owning and mercantile classes, who are beginning to reap the benefits of development work, welcomed them. There was, however, some concern when the 14th Majlis elected in June 1954 was summarily dissolved and a 15th Majlis elected in its place, completely subservient to the Government. This body has dutifully served as a rubber-stamp and it is surprising that the Prime Minister has shown so little confidence in it, hesitating at times to use it to push through his policies.

3. After the initial clean-up of the internal situation, the Prime Minister turned his attention almost exclusively to foreign affairs. In the course of three months (January-March) he negotiated the Bagdad Pact with Turkey and the accession of Her Majesty's Government to it with a new Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement. I have reported fully in earlier despatches on both these events. The Pact with Turkey and its implication that Iraq was committing herself to the Western Powers was received calmly, but with little enthusiasm. Turkey

is still regarded with suspicion by many Iraqi Nationalists. The Special Agreement with the United Kingdom on the other hand was more welcome. For the accession of the United Kingdom to the Bagdad Pact was believed to counter-balance any pretensions which the Turks might have had as senior partners in the original bilateral Pact. At the same time, the Special Agreement offered a solution to the vexed question of the future of Anglo-Iraqi relations by dissipating once and for all any doubts as to the reality of Iraqi sovereignty, while ensuring the continued defence of Iraq. For both these measures Nuri Pasha had full support from the Chamber of Deputies and strong support in the Senate. In particular Salih Jabr, leader of the former Popular Socialist Party, showed himself strongly in favour of both these acts of policy.

4. The Prime Minister had said when he returned from Turkey in October that it was his intention to remodel his Cabinet. Apart from appointing a Deputy Prime Minister at the insistence of the Palace he did not do so; but in view of the wide parliamentary support which he had received in his foreign policy, it was generally believed that he would broaden the basis of his Government in April. It was said on good evidence that he intended to appoint Salih Jabr Deputy Prime Minister and to allow him to run the Government during the summer months. At the same time, in order that Salih Jabr's former supporters might be encouraged, it was proposed to arrange for their election to some, if not all, of the eight new parliamentary seats which had been created as a result of the latest census figures. The Prime Minister never took me into his confidence on this subject and I do not therefore know how serious were his intentions. But in the event no such important changes were made. The members of Salih Jabr's former party were probably not content with the eight or so seats which could be made available to them. They are said to have demanded at least thirty. This number could not, however, be made available without recourse to a fresh General Election, and the Prime Minister doubtless decided that to have a

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third General Election within the period of a year would be unwise. The eight parliamentary seats went accordingly to friends of the Prime Minister's close supporters and it was noticeable that, after a small internal reshuffle of the Cabinet in May (see my despatch No. 112 of the 11th of May), Salih Jabr and his adherents, despairing of a "deal" with the Prime Minister, intensified their opposition to the Government particularly on matters of internal policy. Salih Jabr himself, while maintaining his support for the principles of Nuri Pasha's foreign policy, has been strongly critical both to me and to others of the way in which he had carried it out and in particular of his failure to take Parliament into his confidence and to allow the Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement and the letters annexed to it to pass through the two Chambers in turn in the normal constitutional manner. This critical attitude may partly be due to the fact that his own failure when Prime Minister to secure adoption of the Portsmouth treaty still rankles in his mind.

5. Rumours of the possibility of a broad-based Government including opposition elements, although followed by the disappointment of these hopes, led to a revival in political activity in April and May in the expectation that party life might within a reasonable period be resumed. A statement to the press by the Minister of Education on the 5th of May, encouraged this. There has in fact grown up a feeling among certain Iraqi politicians that Nuri Pasha, having settled Iraqi foreign policy, has fulfilled his rôle. They believe or affect to believe that neither he nor the Ministers he has gathered round him are capable of giving the country the up-to-date internal administration and social reform which it requires. It is true that in the past Nuri himself has shown little interest in internal affairs and his Cabinet is known to be widely divided on this subject. All this is grist to political aspirants and not only have Salih Jabr's partisans revived their activity, but Dr. Jamali and his friends have also taken up a position sharply opposed to the Government on internal matters. Within the Government there is evidence that the Minister of Education and the Minister of Finance are now trying to group round themselves influential deputies in the belief that Nuri may retire from the scene and that their best chance of obtaining political power in that event is to have an organised following in the Chamber and the country. These under-currents are barely discernible

on the surface at present; but it is evident that political activity and probably the demand for the formation of political parties will make itself felt in the autumn. The views of the Prime Minister himself on this subject, so far as they are known to me, are that parties have done more harm than good in the past, but that it might be possible to reintroduce party life if it could be ensured that it would be on a two-party basis as in the United Kingdom or the United States. Dr. Jamali, who has very little popular following, is not so anxious for a return to party politics preferring merely that a Government should be nominated on a wider basis and a new Chamber of Deputies elected containing a more intelligent and younger cross-section of the community. The position of Salih Jabr himself is uncertain. Although his followers have intensified their activity, he has so far maintained that he is doubtful about the wisdom of recreating his party, because he believes on past experience that when it comes to putting the two-party system into practice, neither Nuri Pasha nor his lieutenants will attempt to make the system work, but will go all out to obliterate any opposition party. But this is possibly a pose and if he were given the chance to lead a substantial party in opposition and later in power he might well relent.

6. The summer is likely to pass with little political ferment. The energetic measures taken against Communists and trouble-makers should ensure that. But the effect of such negative legislation is wearing thin politically and in any case it is scarcely a healthy foundation on which to build the future of the country. The policies of the Government, if it is to survive for long, must be such that at least a substantial section of the population find them acceptable. While this may now be true of the Government foreign policy, it can scarcely be said to be so of its internal policy. Little has been done in the past ten months to improve the administration; little also, aside from the slow-moving and long-term activities of the Development Board, to improve the lot of the majority of the population. Now with the prospect of increased political activity in the autumn, the popularity of the Government may well depend on the energy with which the question of internal administration and development are tackled. Many people feel that relying, as he does, on conservative support in the Chamber, it is unlikely that the Prime Minister will attempt any far-going measures of social reform.

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Indeed, he has said on various occasions that, lacking something better to put in their place, he is unwilling to do anything to weaken the powers of the Shaikhs. He believes, however, that a policy of education and development can bring about a gradual improvement in the condition of the people and it is on this that he would be wise to concentrate. Up to the present the Development Board has, as one member of the Cabinet has said, "completed almost nothing but schools and prisons and, under the present dispensation, our children graduate from the one to the other." The Prime Minister, however, intends to launch large schemes for housing and roads. He will need to accompany these with better educational facilities in the provinces and better sanitation and social conditions. Unfortunately, the Cabinet Ministers who deal with these subjects vital to the internal policy of the Government and the economy of the country, are with few exceptions, ill-equipped for their jobs; although it is only fair to add that it would be hard to find in Iraq substitutes who are better qualified. The prospect is therefore not encouraging on the administrative side. It remains nevertheless true that the Prime Minister is probably the only man in Iraq who could force progressive policies through Parliament and the administration and set them on a firm footing.

7. I do not need to labour the importance to Her Majesty's Government of stability and progress in Iraq. Not only are we vitally interested in the production of her oil, but we are now concerned to make her the hub of a Middle East regional defence system. To both these aims stability is necessary. I was therefore glad that the Prime Minister refrained from holding elections for a new Parliament in the circumstances described in paragraph 4 above, purely to secure a temporary political advantage. Inevitably, fresh elections would have given substance to the claims made by the critics of the present Parliament that it was convened solely to place a rubber stamp on Nuri Pasha's agreements with Turkey and ourselves; and this might have been used later as an excuse to detract from the validity of both agreements. But a fresh impetus to internal policy in the autumn, whether with a more broad-based government or not, is another matter and is clearly desirable.

8. With this in mind, I have constantly tried to engage Nuri Pasha's attention in internal matters. Before he left for Turkey

and London on the 2nd of June he assured me that he intended to return to Bagdad on or about the 15th of July for some weeks and to devote himself to preparation for internal reform in the autumn. I will do my utmost to hold him to this when he gets back.

9. Meanwhile, I am endeavouring to take advantage in this connexion of the completion of Lord Salter's Report on the Development of Iraq, which was received at the end of May. On the face of it this report, while raising a number of controversial issues, might form a charter for development and to some extent, internal reform; and a milestone in the future of Iraq. I have accordingly suggested to Nuri that he should set up a committee at ministerial level to study the report and to make recommendations before October. I further suggested that he might invite, to serve on the committee, prominent political figures who are at present outside the Government, and in particular some of those who are critical of the Government for failure to press forward more energetically with development and reform. I had in mind especially Salih Jabr and Dr. Jamali.

10. When I first broached the matter with him, Nuri was non-committal and, it seemed to me, unresponsive. But two days later he told me he had thought over the suggestion, and decided to pursue it. He said that he had already had a word with Dr. Jamali, and would be willing to approach Salih Jabr also. I have myself had a long conversation with Salih Jabr since then, and he tells me he would be willing to serve on such a committee and indeed to support Nuri in a more progressive internal policy if he will adopt one. I have also mentioned the possibility to the King, who welcomed it. Unfortunately Nuri left for Turkey without having taken the necessary steps to bring the committee into being, and Salih Jabr may be leaving for two months holiday before Nuri returns in the middle of July. I intend, however, to take every opportunity to maintain the momentum of the suggestion.

11. Meanwhile I have also been doing my best in the background to promote wiser direction of activity on the part of the Development Board. My first task within a few days of arriving here at the end of January was to overcome a last-minute attempt to shelve the appointment of Mr. Ionides as the British member on the Development Board in succession to Sir Edington Miller. Mr. Ionides arrived in

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April and is settling well into the saddle. At the moment three lines of action are being pursued. First, Mr. Ionides is trying to secure certain administrative reforms which are a necessary prelude to the more effective conduct of business. Second, an attempt is being made to accelerate the housing programme throughout the country, for which the money is already available. Third, the need is being pressed for the Board to devote more attention to short-term requirements in each Liwa. I hope that at least

something can be achieved, at any rate as regards the first two points, between now and the autumn. The third requires sustained concentration over many months.

12. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Head of the British Middle East Office, to Her Majesty's Consular officers at Basra, Kirkuk and Mosul, and to the Air Officer Commanding (Levant).

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

CONFIDENTIAL

VQ 1224/27

No. 13

# NEGOTIATIONS WITH IRAQ FOLLOWING THE TRANSFER OF COMMAND AT HABBANIYA AND SHAIBA

Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 23)

(No. 159. Confidential)  
Sir,

Bagdad,  
July 19, 1955.

The new Anglo-Iraqi Agreement was signed on the 4th of April. The transfer of command at Habbaniya and Shaiba took place on the 2nd of May. I now have the honour to enclose a report<sup>(1)</sup> which the Air Officer Commanding (Levant) has kindly prepared for me indicating the progress made in the last two and a half months in implementing the agreement.

2. The work involved has entailed complicated and detailed negotiations concerning phases of withdrawal, the reallocation of buildings, the financial payments to be made, and the beginning of joint training and planning. It has also included the potentially explosive problems of the disbandment of the Royal Air Force Levies, the absorption into the Iraqi Forces of those who wished or could be encouraged to apply, and the resettlement of others (in particular Assyrians) together with their families. For the latter purpose two land settlement schemes, as outlined in the enclosed report, are well under way.

3. To handle these matters a chain of joint committees has been formed, constituting a ladder of negotiations terminating at the top on the Iraqi side with the Prime Minister, who is also the Minister of Defence, and the Cabinet.

4. I consider that the progress made reflects great credit on Air Vice-Marshal Brookes and his staff, as well as on the personnel detached from the British Defence Co-ordinating Committee for the purpose.

5. I should also put on record that the Iraqi authorities, first and foremost the Prime Minister, who has given the guiding directives, and at other levels the Minister of Finance, the Minister of the Interior and the Chief of the General Staff and his officers, have shown a conspicuous degree of friendship and co-operation.

6. I must, however, enter at the same time a strong note of warning. In the first

place, there can be no assurance that Nuri-es-Said will necessarily continue to preside over this or some other Government for an indefinite period. If Nuri were to go, a Government under any of the more obvious successors, such as, for instance, Salih Jabr, Ahmad Mukhtar Baban, Najib Rawi, Fadhil Jamali, Ali Mumtas or Dhia Jaafar or a number of others (these names are not given in any order of likelihood) would probably continue the main lines of his foreign policy, and in particular support the Bagdad Pact and the new Anglo-Iraqi Agreement. But without the strong hand and guiding impulse of Nuri the drive might be lost. Moreover, it is always possible that under the impact of some upsurge of internal discontent, a fundamentally well-disposed Government might be forced to take a more narrowly nationalistic line or that a nationalist Government with altogether different ideas might sooner or later emerge. This is an argument in favour of consolidating the new agreement and our general relations with Iraq, and putting them on as firm a basis as possible while Nuri Pasha is still in power. Second, it must be appreciated that the financial arrangements consequent upon the taking over by Iraq of overall responsibility of command at Habbaniya and Shaiba require to be passed by Parliament, which does not meet again until the 1st of December. When it comes to voting the money for the purchase of installations and so forth there is always the possibility of opposition. Third, the question of free arms aid, and in particular the equipment of the Iraqi armoured division, has not yet been settled. Until it is so, a large question-mark must hang over the scene. It will be particularly unfortunate if it has not been resolved by the time the new Parliament meets and has before it the financial implications of the handover. These involve not merely the payment of considerable sums to Her Majesty's Government but the voting of increased annual credits to maintain Habbaniya and Shaiba at British standards.

<sup>(1)</sup> Not printed.

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Fourth, we must bear firmly in mind that the continuation of support by public opinion in Iraq of the new agreement is essentially dependent upon the course of general relations between Britain and Iraq. If these should become severely strained on some extraneous issue, such as Palestine, the agreement would be in jeopardy.

7. I am sending copies of this despatch to the Air Officer Commanding, Royal Air

Force (Levant), Habbaniya, to the Head of the British Middle East Office, and to Her Majesty's Representatives at Ankara, Cairo, Beirut, Damascus and Jedda and to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at Karachi.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

VQ 1015/1

No. 14

# FORMATION OF NEW GOVERNMENT ON DECEMBER 17, 1955

Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received January 2, 1956)

(No. 281. Confidential)

Sir,

Baghdad,  
December 24, 1955.

In my telegram No. 1048 of the 18th of December I reported the resignation of the Iraq Government on the 17th of December and the formation of a new Government by Sayid Nuri el Said, later the same day.

2. The three new Ministers are Sayid Abdul Rassul al Khalisi (Personality No. 22 of the Leading Personalities in Iraq, 1954), Minister of Social Affairs; Dr. Abdul Amir Allawi (Personality No. 3), Minister of Health; and Sayid Munir al Qadhi, Minister of Education. A Personality Note on Sayid Munir al Qadhi is enclosed.

3. These Cabinet changes had been the subject of rumour for some time. It was known that the Prime Minister intended to get rid of the Ministers of Social Affairs and Health and Sayid Abdul Majid Mahmud. None of these had improved his reputation during his term of office and all were commonly considered to have been involved in dishonest practices. A switch-over had also been contemplated between the Ministers of Education and Finance. There had been complaints against the Minister of Finance both on the grounds that he held up State business and also because it was said that, while personally honest in so far as the finances of the State were concerned, he had nevertheless used his ministerial position to his own benefit, notably by land purchases. The Minister of Education, on the other hand, though known to be strictly honest, had incurred the displeasure of many of the Shia Muslims by his appointments in the Ministry of Education and had also landed himself and the Prime Minister in trouble with their supporters by his closure of a number of schools in the provinces and his failure to keep his promises to open technical agricultural schools in their place. This switch-over could not, however, take place because the Minister of Development decided at this juncture to hand in his resignation. It was said by his friends that he had been disappointed at having been transferred to the Ministry of Development from the Ministry of Justice in November (my despatch No. 258 of November 18). As the Prime Minister had not expected this move, he was temporarily disconcerted and what had been intended as a minor Cabinet reshuffle now assumed more important proportions. On the 15th, 16th and 17th of December there were many hurried consultations and the original plan had to be modified by putting the outgoing Minister of Finance into the Ministry of Development and not into the Ministry of Education, and by finding a suitable candidate for the Ministry of Education. The choice for this job fell on Munir al Qadhi who had been for some time head of the Cabinet offices. Sayid Munir is a respected man and, like his predecessor, a Sunni. He was for many years connected with the teaching of law in the Baghdad Law School. He is, therefore, not a stranger to educational affairs, but, at the same time, he is not a particularly strong character. Sayid Dhia Jaafar, on the other hand, should make a good and vigorous Minister of Development.

4. The present changes will not, on the whole, add any particular strength to Nuri Pasha's Cabinet, but, by the addition of three men who are known to be honest, they will remove from it the taint of dishonesty with which some of its former members were tarred. This is particularly necessary if it is the serious intention of the Prime Minister to attempt to deal with corruption in the Civil Service.

5. I am sending a copy of this despatch to the Political Office with the Middle East Forces.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.



MUNIR AL QADHI

A Sunni of Baghdad of the well-known Qadhi family, born about 1895. Joined Government service in November 1917. Served many years as Assistant Professor of Law at the Law College, Baghdad, and in 1941 was appointed a Professor and in 1946 Dean of the Law College.

In July 1952 he was made Acting Head of the Diwan of the Council of Ministers. This appointment was confirmed on the 1st of April, 1954. He still holds this job.

He is also President of the Iraq Academy.

Munir al Qadhi is not brilliant but he has a large experience of the law and enjoys a reputation for probity and steadiness.

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VQ 1902/2

No. 15

## IRAQ: HEADS OF FOREIGN MISSIONS

*Sir Michael Wright to Mr. Macmillan. (Received July 18)*

(No. 154. Confidential)  
Sir,

Bagdad,  
July 12, 1955.

With reference to Sir John Troutbeck's despatch No. 126 of the 11th of June, 1954, I have the honour to transmit my annual report on the Heads of Foreign Missions in Bagdad.

2. There has been a considerable change in the Heads of Mission during the past year and I have therefore thought it advisable to re-write the report.

I have, &c.

MICHAEL WRIGHT.

Enclosure

Annual Report on Heads of Mission

(Passages marked with an asterisk are reproduced from previous reports.)

**Afghanistan**

Abdul Samad Khan, Minister (May 29, 1952).

Abdul Samad Khan has served in London, Paris and Rome and before coming to Bagdad was Permanent Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He is also accredited to Amman, Beirut and Damascus.

He speaks English and French and is a friendly and cultivated colleague. His main circle of acquaintances in Bagdad is confined to the keen bridge-players.

**Belgium**

There is still no Belgian Minister accredited in Iraq. The present Chargé d'Affaires is a Second Secretary, Monsieur Joseph Lodewyck.

**China (Nationalist)**

Shen Yush, Chargé d'Affaires (January 1, 1951).

I have no relations with him.

\*He is a friendly little South Chinese who was Head of the South-East Asia Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the last days of the Nanking régime. He is married, but neither he nor his wife is of much significance. (Written in 1953.)

**Denmark**

George Lyngbye Høst, Minister (November 3, 1953).

M. Høst resides in Cairo and the Legation here is run by M. F. E. Lystø, Commercial Counsellor, a large and energetic Scandinavian, who assumed direction as Chargé d'Affaires on January 27, 1955.

**Egypt**

Taufiq Ismail Qatamish, Ambassador (April 18, 1954).

A graduate of the Cairo School of Law (1927), Taufiq Qatamish served in Consulates and Missions in Manchester, New York, Berlin and elsewhere before the war. He became Consul-General in New York in 1945 and was subsequently First Secretary and in 1950 Counsellor at the Egyptian Embassy in London. From 1953 until his appointment to Bagdad, he served in the Egyptian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Taufiq Qatamish is unmarried. He speaks good English. Despite the difficulties between his country and Iraq in recent months, he has remained personally popular with the Iraqi authorities. He is an intelligent and interested observer of Iraqi affairs and is candidly critical both of the shortcomings of the Iraq Government and the excesses of his own military masters. An affable figure in Bagdad society, he seems genuinely friendly to British interests and claims to have been very happy in England.

**France**

Pierre Louis Comte de Vaucelles, Ambassador (December 15, 1954).

Monsieur de Vaucelles was born in 1907, entered the French Foreign Service in 1932, served in Bucharest, Berlin and Budapest (for the Vichy Government from October 1940 to July 1943). From 1943 he was unemployed, spending the war, according to his Free French Counsellor, upon his estates in Normandy. His wife's family owns or has interests in the Château Filhat vineyard. He has five young children.

Monsieur de Vaucelles is a Norman aristocrat, a practising Catholic of Right-wing sympathies. A quiet and melancholy man, but of amiable disposition. Although undoubtedly intelligent, he gives the impression of being greatly bewildered by the novelty of Bagdad. Neither the political nor social climate of Iraq is likely to appeal to him, or for that matter to any other French Ambassador.

**Germany (Federal Republic)**

Wilhelm Melchers, Minister (September 19, 1953).

\*Dr. Melchers is Doctor of Law and a career diplomat. He opened the German Legation here in September, 1953. (Written in 1954.) He served in Addis Ababa in 1930 and subsequently in Haifa, Tehran and Tokyo. He was in the German Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1939 and was employed in the transfer of Rashid Ali from Berlin to Southern Germany in April, 1945.

Dr. Melchers speaks French and English. He married in April, 1953. He and his wife try to be friendly, correct and straightforward but I think they do not entirely succeed in achieving this object.

**Holy See**

Monseigneur Armand Etienne Blanquet du Chayla, Apostolic Delegate (November 20, 1948).

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Monseigneur du Chayla, Latin Archbishop of Bagdad, a Frenchman and a member of the Carmelite Order, was appointed Apostolic Delegate in 1948. He is a cousin of the French Ambassador in Cairo.

A courtly and cultivated figure whom it is a pleasure to meet and who gives the impression of a Cardinal *manqué*. He is outspokenly tired of this country and frankly critical of the short-comings of its people. Aristocratic and fastidious, he has not taken kindly to Iraq. His health is indifferent.

His diplomatic status has been under discussion with the Iraq Government for many years but has not yet been recognised.

#### Indonesia

Mahmud Latjuba, Minister (July 16, 1953).

Monsieur Latjuba is rarely in Bagdad, residing in Tehran where he is also accredited. The Legation here is usually in charge of a Second Secretary.

#### Italy

Michele Lanza, Minister (November 17, 1954).

Monsieur Lanza served in London as Third Secretary before the war, and during the war in Berlin. Before his appointment to Bagdad he was head of the Trieste department at his Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

M. Lanza is a Monarchist by sympathy. In younger days a sporting and lively person, he drove a car for a bet from Milan to London in 24 hours and fought a duel with a Fascist. He is still an active and vigorous personality. He is friendly and straightforward. His wife also is lively and amusing, enjoying parties. They have a grown-up daughter who was "finished" in the United Kingdom.

#### Jordan

Abdulla al-Zuraikat, Minister (April 1955).

Mr. Zuraikat was Chargé d'Affaires from January 1, 1952, until he was appointed Minister this year.

A pleasant and friendly person, speaking some English. He does not appear to be very active either socially or politically. His wife, who appears in mixed society, also speaks English.

#### Lebanon

Kazim al Solh, Ambassador (November 3, 1953).

Kazim al Solh is a cousin of the late Riad al Solh, formerly Prime Minister of the Lebanon. Born about 1903, a Sunni Moslem of Beirut, he is a graduate of the Damascus Law School. He started life as a journalist, but his newspaper was suspended by the French. He later organised a small but influential Nationalist (but not anti-British) political party, Nida al Qawmi.

He speaks good French and some English. His wife does not appear in mixed society and spends nearly all her time in Beirut. He himself goes frequently to Beirut for long periods and has political aspirations there. When in Bagdad he moves freely in Iraqi society and has shown considerable political activity in the traditional Lebanese rôle of mediator. He is not a clever man but might be pleasant if he were not so tiresomely pompous and *protocolaire*.

#### Netherlands

E. J. Baron Lewé Van Aduard, Chargé d'Affaires (July 25, 1954).

Baron Van Aduard came to Bagdad from The Hague, having served previously in Japan.

An earnest and friendly man, anxious to maintain close contact with this Embassy and to be helpful to us if he can. His wife is a rather striking Pole, who paints very well. They both speak English.

#### Persia

Hussain Ghods-Nakhai, Ambassador (November 24, 1953).

M. Ghods was Ambassador in Bagdad in 1951 and 1952. He was removed by Dr. Musaddiq and was hospitably received in the United Kingdom, for which he is abidingly grateful. He was appointed to Bagdad again after Dr. Musaddiq's downfall. M. Ghods has served in his own Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in Washington, London and Smyrna. He was in London during the war.

He speaks English fluently and his wife quite well. His son is at Haileybury and he is said to be seeking British nationality for him. He is a co-operative and well-disposed colleague and entertains well and generously. He writes both prose and verse in English as well as Persian.

#### Saudi Arabia

Abdulla al Khaiyal, who was Minister from 1947, left Bagdad in June 1955, and has not yet been replaced.

#### Spain

Pedro E. Schwartz Diaz-Flores, Ambassador (November 12, 1953). Dean of the Corps.

M. Schwartz joined the Spanish Diplomatic Service in 1912. He served as Consul at Genoa, Quito and Bayonne, became Consul-General at Montreal in 1939, later took charge of the Spanish Missions in Caracas and Ciudad Trujillo, and before his present appointment was Consul-General at Antwerp. When the Spanish Legation here became an Embassy, M. Schwartz presented his letters as first Ambassador on November 12, 1953.

M. Schwartz is difficult to converse with, as both his English and his French are poor. He is sensible and affable but has little to do except play bridge. Though his wife speaks no English and little French, she makes an agreeable impression.

#### Switzerland

Franz Kappeler, Minister (February 24, 1951).

The Minister resides in Tehran and the Legation in Bagdad is conducted by M. Jacques Mallet, First Secretary, a dull and pompous person, who is married and speaks good English. He is on the point of departure.

#### Syria

Dr. Haidar Mardam Bey, Minister (April 18, 1954).

Born about 1905, a member of a leading Damascus family and a cousin and brother-in-law of the former Prime Minister, Jamil Mardam Bey, Haidar Mardam studied law in France and was Private Secretary to King Faisal when he was King of Syria. He subsequently held posts in the Administration during the French Mandate and was Governor of various Syrian Provinces. On the termination of the Mandate he transferred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, first as Head of Protocol and later served as Syrian Minister in Jedda and Rome where he was on good terms with Her Majesty's Ambassadors.

Haidar Mardam Bey speaks French and a little English. He is pleasant enough if not very intelligent and, like his Lebanese colleague, inclined on occasions to be tiresomely *protocolaire*. His wife is a Syrian Christian lady and his son is being educated in the United Kingdom.

#### Turkey

General Muzaffer Göksenin, Ambassador (November 17, 1954).

Born at Monastir in 1889. As a cavalry officer in Palestine in the first world war, he was taken prisoner by the British. After the Turkish War of

Independence and aviation courses at Smyrna and in France, he became Director of Flying at the Aircraft School at Eskisehir from 1927 until 1947. From 1947 until 1949 he was Air Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Defence. In 1950 he became Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Air Force. He resigned on account of a dispute about the Air Force budget for 1953-54. In 1953 he was appointed Governor of Izmir.

M. Göksenin has had no diplomatic experience. He is having to learn the hard way, especially as his staff are also not very bright. He is further handicapped by a slight impediment in speech and by the fact that he speaks little English and no Arabic, and his wife nothing but Turkish. Nevertheless, he is energetic, conscientious and tries hard. He proved to be a communicative and helpful colleague during the negotiations for the Iraqi-Turkish Pact and he is a reliable friend of Britain.

#### United States

Mr. Waldemar J. Gallman, Ambassador (November 3, 1954).

Mr. Gallman was born in 1899 in Wellsville, New York. He graduated B.A. at Cornell University in 1921, spent a year at Georgetown University Law School and joined the State Department in 1922. He served in Cuba, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Latvia

and Poland. In 1942 he became Consul in London where he was later promoted to be Counsellor and Minister. He was Ambassador to Poland from 1948 to 1950, spent a year at the United States War College, from there he was appointed Ambassador in South Africa.

An amiable, equable, loyal and helpful colleague with whom it is a pleasure to work and who believes whole-heartedly in close co-operation between Britain and the United States throughout the world. His wife is agreeably simple, sincere and unaffected. They both take a very friendly interest in people and life in Iraq. They have two sons. A keen tennis player.

#### Missions Accredited in Iraq without Representatives Resident in Bagdad

The following countries are represented by Ministers residing in the capitals shown:

Norway (Ankara).  
Sweden (Tehran).  
Greece (Beirut).  
Austria (Cairo).  
Ethiopia (Cairo).  
Mexico (Beirut).



# APPENDIX

## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

VQ 1012/1

No. 16

### LEADING PERSONALITIES IN IRAQ

*Mr. Hooper to Mr. Macmillan. (Received April 10)*

(No. 192. Confidential) *Bagdad,*  
Sir, *September 7, 1955.*

With reference to my despatch No. 148 of the 7th of July, 1954, I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a report on leading personalities in Iraq in September 1955.

I have, &c.  
R. W. J. HOOPER.

Enclosure

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### The Royal Family

#### 1. King Faisal II

Born in Bagdad on 2nd May, 1935, the son of King Ghazi and a sister of the Amir Abdul Ilah. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father on 3rd April, 1939.

During the Rashid Ali rebellion in May 1941 he and his mother were at first confined at Qasr Zuhur on the outskirts of Bagdad but were removed to the summer palace at Pir Mum just before the collapse and flight of the rebel Government.

His early education was directed by an English governess who was succeeded by an English tutor in 1946. In 1947 he went to Sandroyd Preparatory School and entered Harrow, his father's old school, in May 1949. He spent the summer holidays of 1948 and the Easter holidays of 1950 in Iraq. In 1950 he was given a notably warm welcome by the people and the opportunity was taken for him to visit a number of important provincial centres. He came to Iraq in the autumn of 1950 with his mother and returned to Harrow seven weeks after her death in December 1950.

The King did not return to Iraq again until December 1951, when he spent the winter holidays in Bagdad. He suffered most of the time from asthma, to which he has a tendency, and was unable to take part in public life. Returned to Harrow for the Easter term 1952. Visited the United States in August 1952. Returned to Iraq in October 1952. Visited Kuwait in April 1953 and acceded to the Throne in May 1953. Appointed a G.C.V.O. in 1952. In 1955 granted an Honorary Commission in the R.A.F. with the rank of Air Vice-Marshal. 1955—State visit to Turkey.

He is intelligent and well-mannered and is very popular in Iraq. His health appears to be improving, though his popularity has declined somewhat since

the unreasonably high hopes which accompanied his accession have not been realised. Politically he is still very much in the hands of his uncle, the Crown Prince.

#### 2. Abdul Ilah, His Royal Highness the Amir

Born in the Hejaz in 1912, the only son of the late King Ali, ex-King of the Hejaz. He came to Bagdad with his father in 1926 after Ibn Saud had expelled the latter from the Hejaz. He was educated privately and at Victoria College, Alexandria. He became Regent on the death of his cousin King Ghazi in April 1939 and remained Regent until the Accession of King Faisal II in May 1953.

During the Cabinet crisis of January 1941 which led to the fall of Rashid Ali's Cabinet, he endeavoured to resist the Prime Minister's demands for the appointment of new Ministers, but fled to Diwaniyah to escape the threats to his life made by four army officers Salah-ud-din Sabbagh, Kamil Shabib, Fahmi Said and Mahmud Salman. Rashid Ali thereupon resigned and Taha al Hashimi succeeded him. The Amir then returned to the capital.

During the night of 1st April the four army officers already mentioned occupied Bagdad with their troops and went to the Palace to demand the resignation of Taha al Hashimi and the appointment of Rashid Ali as Prime Minister. The Amir was, however, warned in time, eluded them and took refuge in the American Legation. Thence he was smuggled to Habbaniya on 2nd April and flown to Basra. On instructions from Bagdad, the Officer Commanding, Iraq Army, at Basra attempted to arrest the Amir, who took refuge on board of one of His Majesty's ships. By now any hope of rallying support for his cause in the south had been lost. On 16th April he was flown to Jerusalem, together with Ali Jaudat and Jamil Madfai, who had meanwhile joined him at Basra. During the hostilities in May, the Amir remained in Palestine. He returned to Bagdad on 1st June, after the collapse of Rashid Ali's régime and was welcomed by a large gathering of officials, notables and well-wishers.

In November 1943 he was declared Heir to the Throne under the provisions of an amendment to the Organic Law passed in October.

In December 1943 he paid an extensive visit to the United Kingdom at the invitation of His Majesty's Government. For three days he was a guest of Their Majesties the King and Queen at Buckingham Palace. During 1944 the Amir toured extensively within the country and paid particular attention to the army manoeuvres which he constantly attended. In June he visited Alexandria, returning early in July, and in September he again visited Transjordan and Egypt. He paid a second brief visit to Transjordan in February 1945.

In May 1945 he left on an official visit to the United States, returning via Canada and Great Britain. In London he was twice received by the King, met the Prime Minister and members of the Cabinet and attended the Victory Thanksgiving Service. He also visited the occupied area of Germany. He returned via France and Italy, whence he proceeded on an official visit to the President of the Turkish Republic before returning to Iraq in September.

The Amir visited London in the summer of both 1946 and 1947. In 1946 he attended the Victory Celebrations on 8th June, and in 1947 he paid official visits to France and Belgium as well as to London. He and Nuri Pasha held informal discussions with the Foreign Office in September 1947 about the Iraq Government's desire to replace the 1930 Treaty. He was therefore to some extent committed personally to the terms of the Portsmouth Treaty and was placed in a difficult position by the demonstrations against it in Bagdad in January 1948. He did not

extricate himself from this position with undiminished credit.

In 1948 he took a personal part in the unsuccessful attempts to unify the war effort of the Arab States against Israel and paid a number of visits to the Iraq Army in Palestine. He paid a State Visit to the Shan of Persia in June 1949 and visited England later in the summer.

He again visited England in the summer of 1950 when his sister became seriously ill and had to enter hospital. He returned to England in the autumn to arrange for the Queen Mother's journey to Iraq. In the last few months of the year he was pre-occupied with his sister's declining health. Shortly before her death he flew with his mother and sisters to the Hejaz where they visited Mecca. He returned to Iraq the same day. He accompanied the King to England in February 1951 and returned after six weeks. He again left the country at the end of May for a short visit to Amman. Left for London in July 1951 and returned to Iraq in September. While in London he had been examined for suspected appendicitis, and a successful operation was performed in London in November 1951, the Amir returning to Bagdad in December. He paid an official visit to Kuwait in March 1952, and an unofficial one to Bahrain in April. In May he paid an official visit to Spain and returned to Iraq towards the end of the month. He visited Amman for a few days in June in an unsuccessful attempt to persuade the Jordan Government to accept a Hashimite as member of the Jordan Council of State. He returned to Bagdad angry and disillusioned. Between July and October 1952 he visited the United Kingdom and the United States with King Faisal. Visited Kuwait with the King in April 1953. Head of the Iraqi Delegation to the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, June 1953.

The Amir is an intelligent man with an excellent memory. He has a shy charm of manner and his natural judgment is good. But his will is abnormally weak and he can seldom withstand either his own passions or the pressure of others. He has tried to take his duties seriously and has been genuinely anxious to hand over the monarchy unimpaired in strength and reputation to his nephew the King, but he is easily discouraged or intimidated. He is much influenced by his mother. His intense pride in the Hashimite Royal House and his concern to maintain its unity and prestige explain his deep anxiety over events in Jordan since the death of King Abdullah and provide the motive for his well-intentioned but generally ill-timed interventions in Amman since King Talal's illness precipitated the crisis in Jordan.

He is basically uninterested in affairs of State and does not identify himself with the progress and aspirations of his people, whose interests he seems to regard as distinct from those of the Royal Family. He feels more at home with Englishmen than with Iraqis and his recreations are those of the English. He maintains a large racing stable, supports a pack of hounds and breeds pheasants and spaniels. He is irresponsibly extravagant, and in 1945 spent over \$200,000 in the United States on jewellery. He is also believed to have invested heavily, at the cost of grave indebtedness, in speculative industrial enterprises in Bagdad.

His Regency was a troubled one and he has twice been forced to flee from Bagdad. These experiences impelled him to make a real effort to obtain the personal loyalty of the Army, in which he had some limited success. But these experiences also implanted in him a deep distrust of his people and a determination to keep in his own hands as much power and patronage as possible. His fears caused him to interfere in details of Government policy and administration, particularly in the appoint-

ments of officials and the choice of Government candidates for Parliament. He would never allow a Prime Minister a completely free hand in the selection of his Ministers. At the same time his indolence made him neglect the higher direction of policy. He seldom reads State papers unless they had direct connexion with the position of the Hashimite House. None the less he kept Iraq on a steady course for fourteen years while tumultuous events were taking place elsewhere.

He has twice been married. First in 1936 to the daughter of Salah-al-Din Fauzi Beg of Cairo, whom he divorced in 1940, and secondly to another Egyptian lady Mlle. Faiza Tarabulsi in November 1948, whom he divorced in 1950. Stories about his dissipation circulate. He speaks very good English.

He was made an Honorary Air Vice-Marshal in the Royal Air Force in 1952, was appointed Honorary G.C.M.G. in 1942 and Honorary G.C.V.O., with the award of the Royal Victorian Collar in 1943.

#### 3. Zaid, His Royal Highness the Amir

Born at Istanbul 1900, he is the youngest son of the late King Hussein of the Hejaz and a half brother to the late Kings Ali of Hejaz and Faisal I of Iraq, and to King Abdullah of Jordan. His mother was a Turk.

He was educated at Istanbul. He served with the Sharifian forces during the first world war and won the good opinion of British officers. He was appointed an Honorary G.B.E. for his services.

He came to Iraq in 1922 and was commissioned in the Iraqi cavalry. He acted as Regent for a short time during King Faisal's absence in 1924. From 1925 to 1928 he studied agriculture at Oxford and from 1928 to 1931 he lived in Cyprus where his father had retired after being driven from the Hejaz by Ibn Saud.

After the death of King Hussein in 1931 the Amir Zaid was appointed Iraqi Minister at Ankara in January 1932. He was transferred to Cairo in 1934, owing to the scandal caused by the marriage of his sister to Atta Amin (*q.v.*), but he refused to accept this appointment. At the end of 1934 he was engaged in litigation in Athens about properties which he claimed to have inherited in Greece. He was appointed Iraqi Minister at Berlin in September 1935. In 1937 he was recalled for enquiries into allegations that he had used his position to give false certificates for arms destined for Spain. He survived the enquiry and returned to Berlin. He was withdrawn from Berlin in the spring of 1938 and remained in Iraq until the summer of 1939 when he went to live at Istanbul.

In 1933 he had married a Turkish lady who had been divorced by her previous husband. This *mesalliance* was the main reason for his not being made Regent on the death of King Ghazi in 1939.

He came to Bagdad in October 1941 to meet the Amir Abdullah who paid a state visit to Iraq in that year. In June 1942 he returned to Turkey, which remained his home until he was appointed the first Iraqi Ambassador in London in 1946.

In 1943, 1945, 1946, 1949, 1950 and 1951 he came to Iraq to act as Regent during the absences of the Amir Abdul Ilah.

In the summer of 1955 he acted as Regent for His Majesty King Faisal during the State visit to Turkey.

The Amir Zaid is a friendly and well-mannered man. He is a shrewd observer who takes a detached and cynical view of Iraqi and Arab politics. Although he is lazy, dislikes responsibility, and is a heavy drinker, he would probably have made a more successful Regent than his cousin Abdul Ilah. He speaks English and Turkish in addition to Arabic. His wife has had some success as an artist, having held exhibitions of her paintings in London and in Paris, but she is seldom seen in Iraq.



#### 4. Hussein Nasir, Sharif

A cousin of the King and of the Regent, with the style of "Highness."

He was educated in Istanbul during the 1914-18 war. From 1935 to 1938 he was attached to the Iraqi Legation at Ankara and later held an appointment in the Royal Palace at Baghdad. Iraqi Consul in Jerusalem from 1946 to 1948.

He is married to a daughter of King Abdullah of Jordan, whose service he entered in 1948. He was appointed Jordan Minister at Ankara in December 1948.

A good humoured, genial and friendly man without much ability or personality.

#### Other Personalities

##### 1. Abbas Ali Ghalib

Sunni of Kurdish origin. Born in Baghdad in 1908. Father was a Captain in the Turkish army before 1914. Brother, Hassan Ali Ghalib, is now Director, Royal Artillery. Abbas Ali Ghalib was a cadet at the Royal Military College, Bagdad, and the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich. After graduating, became a Royal Artillery Officer. He passed the Staff Colleges of Bagdad and Quetta. Was Senior Iraqi Liaison Officer in Palestine in 1948. Has been Director of General Staff, Ministry of Defence. Now, a Major-General, commands the 1st Division.

A very capable and ambitious Staff Officer, has a pleasant manner, and speaks English well. Sympathetically inclined to the West and was a supporter of the 1948 Portsmouth Treaty. Accompanied the Chief of General Staff to the United States in 1954 after the Iraqi acceptance of American aid.

##### 2. Abbas Mahdi

Shia. Born 1898. Served in the Head Post Office, the Iraqi Legation at Tehran and the Ministry of Education. Minister of Education 1932-33. Minister of Economics and Communications in Jamil Madfai's Cabinet in 1934. Director-General of Tapu 1934. Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1937. Minister of Economics and Communications 1937-38, in the Cabinets of Hikmat Sulaiman and Jamil Madfai. Appointed Principal Private Secretary at the Royal Palace in July 1941.

Minister at Tehran 1943-45. Appointed first Iraqi Minister in Moscow in 1945. Was made senator in 1949, after his final return from Moscow. He played a prominent part in opposing the policy of Nuri Said's Government in the Senate in 1951 and again in 1952.

He is now a spent force politically, but enjoys a certain amount of patronage. He is friendly to the United Kingdom and speaks English.

##### 3. Abdul Amir Allawi, Dr.

Shia. Born 1911. Graduate of the Bagdad Medical College and was for many years at Great Ormond Street Children's Hospital. Entered the Medical Service of the Iraq Government in 1933 and was appointed Director of the Child Welfare Hospital in 1947. Has taken no part in political controversy, but was Minister of Health in September 1953. Elected as Deputy for the Muntafik in September 1954 and visited Turkey as a member of the Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation in April 1955. A close friend of Sayid Abdul Mahdi (q.v.). Married to a daughter of Abdul Hadi Chelabi (q.v.). Speaks good English.

##### 4. Abdul Amir al Uzri

Born 1899 at Kadhmain of the well-known Shia landowning family. Brother of Abdul Karim al Uzri (q.v.). Educated Bagdad and United States. D.Sc.

Michigan University. Appointed engineer in Directorate-General of Irrigation 1929 and rose to Assistant Director-General in 1941.

Minister of Communications and Works in Hamdi Pachachi's Cabinet of 1944. Minister of Supply for a month in August 1944 and then returned to Communications and Works. Appointed Director-General of Irrigation 1946. He resigned this post in November 1950 on being appointed a member of the Development Board. Resigned from the Board in December 1952.

A rather weak personality, incompetent, unreliable, and said to be corrupt.

##### 5. Abdul Ghani al Dalli

Shia of Suq al Shuyukh. Born about 1920. Educated at Nasriyah, Bagdad Law College and the London School of Economics (1945). Became a teacher at the Bagdad Law College in 1946 and in the same year was appointed by Saleh Jabr Assistant Master of Royal Ceremonies in the Palace. Became director-general of the Industrial Bank in September 1947, in which post he has shown himself to be a competent official. Assistant Director-General of Finance, September 1952. Visited Canada with Darwish al Haidari to buy wheat for the Iraq Government in the winter of 1952. Elected Deputy for Suq al Shuyukh, January 1953. In September 1953 was appointed Minister of Agriculture in Dr. Jamali's Government. Served in the same capacity in Dr. Jamali's second Government and the Cabinet formed by Arshad al Umari in April 1954, but resigned after a quarrel with Arshad in June 1954. In March 1954 he accompanied King Faisal on State visit to Pakistan. June and September 1954 re-elected for Suq al Shuyukh.

A founder member of the Ba'ath Club in 1949. Intelligent and, though critical of some aspects of Western policy, a believer in co-operation with the West. As a Minister appears to have been conscientious and hardworking, if a little pompous. He speaks excellent English and his wife, whom he married in 1950, also speaks a little.

##### 6. Abdul Hadi al Chalabi

Shia of Kadhmain. Born Bagdad 1895, the son of a wealthy landowner.

Deputy for Bagdad 1934 and again in 1935. Minister of Communications and Works in the Cabinet of Arshad al Umari 1946. Appointed Senator in June 1947 and elected First Vice-President of the Senate in February 1950, 1951 and January 1953. Re-elected First Vice-President of the Senate December 1953 and November 1954. Visited Turkey with Iraqi Parliamentary delegation in April 1955.

In politics he supports Saleh Jabr and Nuri Said, but he is more interested in business. He is probably the largest corn broker in the country and many agriculturalists are heavily indebted to him. He made big profits from the export of barley at the inflated prices ruling in Greece and Italy in 1947, and was attacked in the press for obtaining more than his share of export licences through Saleh Jabr who was then Prime Minister. His business record shows that he is unscrupulous and will not hesitate to evade his obligations if it suits him. He is on good terms with the Crown Prince, who has used him to further his designs on Syria. This gives him considerable power behind the scenes and successive Prime Ministers, including Nuri Said, have been careful to keep on good terms with him. He has not failed to profit.

He is good company in Arabic and Persian, but speaks very little English, though he visits London annually. He is a philanthropist. His wife appears in public.

##### 7. Abdul Hadi al Dhahir

Bagdad Shia, born about 1900, whose wealth derives mainly from property in the city of Bagdad. Interested in politics, but too rich to need to work, he twice entered Government service and twice resigned after two or three years. He has often been a Deputy and has intermittently practised as a lawyer. As Mutasarrif of Hilla from 1943 to 1944 he showed himself an experienced and honest but lazy administrator.

He has a clear mind, but though by nature affable and moderate, he has in recent years been under the influence of his more energetic and fanatical younger brother Abdul Razzaq (q.v.).

He was Minister of Economics in Tawfiq Suwaidi's Cabinet in 1946 and is a bitter opponent of Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. He was a founder member of the United Popular Front and was elected to the Front's Political Committee in June 1951. Member of the Court of Cassation April 1953.

##### 8. Abdul Hadi al Pachachi (Dr.)

Sunni. Born in 1894. Son of a former Rais Belidiya of Bagdad and cousin of Muzahim al Pachachi (q.v.). Educated in Bagdad and Istanbul, he qualified as a doctor in France and entered Government service in 1933 as director of the Isolation Hospital.

He was Minister of Social Affairs in Arshad al Umari's Cabinet from June to November 1946, was appointed Mayor of Bagdad in 1948, and Director-General in the Ministry of Social Affairs in 1949. He has represented Iraq at the International Labour Organisation Conferences from 1951. Appointed Minister of Health under Arshad al Umari April 1954, but returned to his post as Director-General, Ministry of Social Affairs, in order to attend the I.L.O. Conference in Geneva in June. He still holds this appointment.

Fat, genial and lazy but, nevertheless, accounted to be of some ability, he does not play a prominent part in politics. He is married to a White Russian wife and speaks fluent French and some English.

##### 9. Abdul Ilah Hafidh (Dr.)

Born about 1897 in Mosul. Son of Mohammed Ali Fadhil who was for some time a Senator. Educated in Paris where he qualified as a dentist but also took a degree in political science. On his return to Bagdad he practised as a dentist.

Deputy for Mosul in 1926 and again in 1935. In 1935 and again from 1938 to 1940 he held foreign service appointments at Paris, Beirut and Bombay. In 1936 he was Director-General of Commerce and in 1941 Director-General of Revenue.

Held a number of ministerial appointments from 1942 onwards under Nuri Said, Arshad al Umari and Saleh Jabr. Appointed first Governor of the National Bank in 1949 and reappointed for a further term of three years in 1952, and again in 1955. In July 1953 was a member of Iraqi Economic Delegation to United Kingdom.

Fat, with a passion for growing roses, he is friendly and co-operative, but not energetic. Has little knowledge of banking and is inclined to play for safety. He speaks French and English.

##### 10. Abdul Jabbar al-Chelabi

Bagdad Shia, born about 1906. Graduated in agriculture at the University of California and in education at Columbia Teachers' College. He served first in the Ministry of Education, in which he became Director of Primary Education (and Acting Director-General) in 1943 and Chief Inspector in 1946. He left Education in 1946 to become Minister of Supply in Tawfiq Suwaidi's Cabinet. When this Cabinet resigned he was appointed Director-General of the Ministry of Communications and

Works. He has also been a member of Iraqi delegations to the San Francisco and other conferences. Minister of Agriculture, July 1952. Member of the Development Board, December 1952.

He is a sincere nationalist but broad-minded and reasonable with a keen sense of humour. He is convinced of the need of Western assistance for Iraq, and is highly respected by his many British friends, who can always rely on his co-operation. He remains the most efficient and intelligent Iraqi member of the Development Board. One of Iraq's few honest and competent officials, he has no illusions about his countrymen and is subject to fits of depression. He drinks fairly heavily and is inclined to be lazy. He speaks English very well. His wife, who speaks some English, appears in public. She is a sister of Abdul Hadi Chelabi (q.v.).

During Mr. Dulles's visit to Bagdad in 1953 he spoke up strongly (and apparently much to their surprise) to members of Mr. Dulles's mission on the advantages to Iraq of the British connexion.

##### 11. Abdul Jabbar Fahmi, C.B.E.

Born 1905. Joined the Police in 1922 and rose fairly rapidly. Was Director of Police, Mosul, 1948, and Commandant of Police in Bagdad Liwa in 1952.

In 1953 appointed Mutasarrif of Bagdad and was active in this post during the severe flooding in 1954. Speaks fair English and returned from a visit to the United Kingdom in 1954 with favourable impressions of the relative efficiency of British administration. He is politically a trimmer, but inclines to Nuri Pasha's Party, being related by marriage to Mohammed Ali Mahmud (q.v.). He was an efficient policeman and is a good Mutasarrif. Helpful but, unlike many of his countrymen, discreet.

Awarded a C.B.E. in 1955 for his help in the arrangements for the British Trade Fair held in Bagdad in 1954.

##### 12. Abdul Jabbar Jommard (Dr.)

Born about 1907 in Mosul. A journalist and newspaper owner. Deputy for Mosul 1948, he resigned with other members of the Opposition in 1950.

Elected again in January 1953 as a member of the United Popular Front but resigned from the U.P.F. in October 1953 as he disagreed with the policy permitting members to serve in the Cabinet of Dr. Jamali—he himself was not invited to join it. In 1954 he was elected again for Mosul but as a member of the National Front. An effective speaker, Dr. Jommard was one of the main personalities of the Opposition. However, since the return to office of Nuri Pasha in 1954 little has been heard of him or other Opposition personalities. He does not speak English, but studied in France.

##### 13. Abdul Karim al Uzri

Kadhmain Shia, born in 1908; brother of Abdul Amir al Uzri (q.v.). Educated in Bagdad and at the London School of Economics, he has held a number of Government appointments. Secretary to the Ministry of Education, 1932. Assistant Secretary at the Royal Palace, 1934. Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, 1936. Acting Director-General of Revenues, 1937. Director of Commerce, 1938. Resigned 1938. Director-General of Economics from 1939 until he resigned again in 1942 after being involved in a financial scandal.

Elected Deputy in 1943, and again in 1950, he is a member of the Bagdad Chamber of Commerce and of the Board of the National Bank. He joined the National Democratic Party on its foundation in 1946 but resigned about a year later. He has a profitable



estate near Kadhmain and interests in a cement factory. He married into the large Rifa'i family of Najaf.

Minister of Finance under Tawfiq al Suweidi, February 1950.

Minister of Finance under Dr. Jamali September 1953 and in March 1954 was Minister of Development in Dr. Jamali's second Cabinet. During March also was elected as Deputy for Bagdad at a by-election. His resignation from the Cabinet was accepted in April. Re-elected for Bagdad in double harness with Nadim Pachachi (q.v.) in June 1954, and September 1954. In March 1955 visited the United States for a lecture tour under the auspices of Point IV.

As a nationalist, he is highly critical of many aspects of British policy in Iraq and the Middle East generally; but he is Western in outlook, realises the value for Iraq of the British connexion, and is friendly and co-operative. He was an able Minister of Finance and was chiefly responsible for the passage through Parliament of the law establishing the Development Board. He has supported Saleh Jabr in the past but is not at present on very good terms with him. He is anathema to Nuri Said, who regards him as the worst kind of Western-educated Iraqi youth and a trouble maker. The dislike is reciprocated and is really a contrast of two generations as well as of two creeds. Abdul Karim is a Socialist in outlook and it can be held to his credit that he resigned from Dr. Jamali's Cabinet because the reforms which he outlined as Minister of Finance were being obstructed. Not many Iraqi Ministers have done this. He speaks English well.

#### 14. Abdul Mahdi (Saiyid)

Shia from the lower Gharraf (Muntafik). Born about 1894 of an influential family and owns a large estate.

Deputy in the Turkish Parliament and in most Iraqi Parliaments from 1927 onwards. He was a supporter of the late Yasin Pasha al Hashemi.

Minister of Education under Rashid Ali in 1933. Minister of Economics in the Governments of Taha al Hashimi and Nuri Said in 1941 and of Communications and Works under Nuri in 1942. Senator from 1941. Again Minister of Communications and Works under Tawfiq al Suweidi in 1950. He now strongly supports Saleh Jabr and is the main instrument of the latter's influence in the Muntafik. He is a founder member and a member of the present Central Committee of Saleh Jabr's Popular Socialist Party which, during the elections campaign of December 1952 and January 1953, split in two on the question of boycotting the elections and co-operation with the Government. He leads the extremist faction. An implacable opponent of Nuri Said. His influence over Saleh Jabr is considerable and is resented and feared by a large number of Saleh Jabr's followers, some of whom led by Tawfiq Wahbi (q.v.) broke away during the summer of 1954.

In November 1950 he was accused of the attempted murder of Senator Khaiyun al Ubaid but was released on bail after a week in prison. Although the case against him was subsequently stopped, he bitterly resented what he considered to be a deliberate act of hostility on Nuri's part. He has still not forgiven the insult and is one of the principal agents in keeping Nuri and Saleh Jabr apart.

A strong nationalist and fervent Shia, he is uneducated and xenophobic. Sinister in appearance and influence. He speaks no European language.

#### 15. Abdul Majid Abbas (Dr.)

Born in 1910 at Gala'at Sikkar on the Gharraf. Shia of tribal origin. Educated at the Scots College,

Safed, Palestine, the Friends' School, Brummana, the American University, Beirut, and Chicago University from 1934 to 1939 (where he studied economics), all at the expense of the Iraq Government. Professor at the Bagdad Law College from 1940 to 1949. Deputy for Amara in 1947 and for the Muntafik in 1948. Joined Nuri Pasha's Constitutional Union Party in 1949 and was for some time editor of the party newspaper. He submitted his resignation from the party in May 1951, but Nuri Pasha refused to accept it. Served with the Iraqi Delegation to United Nations in December 1950 and September 1951. Again elected as Deputy for the Muntafik in January 1953 and served as Minister of Communications and Works in both Dr. Jamali's Cabinets. Re-elected for the Muntafik in June 1954 and appointed Minister of Agriculture by Arshad al Umari. This appointment led to a dispute with the Central Committee of the Constitutional Union Party, who felt they should have been consulted before acceptance and considered him as having resigned from the party. In March 1955 was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the Asian-African Conference at Bandung. In June 1955 was made a member of the Board of the Government Oil Refineries Administration.

A pleasant enough person, but too ingratiating and lacking in character. He is a friend and supporter of Dr. Jamali. Speaks good English and his wife, who appears in public, knows a little English. She is a Shia from the Lebanon of the Osseiran family.

#### 16. Abdul Majid Allawi, C.B.E.

Born 1901. Shia of Bagdad. Graduate of the Bagdad Law College. Subsequently joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where he held various appointments, including that of Legal adviser, until he was appointed Head of the Political Section. Minister of Social Affairs in the Cabinet of Hamdi Pachachi, 1944. After serving as Mutassarif of Kerbela until 1948, he was an Administrative Inspector in the Ministry of the Interior until his appointment as Minister of Communications and Works in the Cabinet formed by Mustafa al Umari in July 1952. Resigned with Mustafa al Umari in November 1952. Appointed Director-General of Customs in February 1953. Appointed Executive Member, Development Board (July 1953), where he does not shine either technically or administratively. A dull, colourless Civil Servant, but a supporter of the British connexion. He speaks English and is intensely proud of his C.B.E.

#### 17. Abdul Majid Mahmud

Shia. Born about 1909. Educated in the United States where he obtained a degree in Agriculture. Director of Education in the Muntafik in the early 1930's. Superintendent (Personnel) of Public Revenues. Inspector in the Income Tax Department in 1941. Held an appointment in the Ministry of Economics in 1942. Appointed Assistant Accountant-General in 1944. A member of the Iraqi delegation to the Bretton Woods Conference in 1945. Has until recently been Director-General of the Agricultural Bank to which post he was appointed by Saleh Jabr. Visited England in 1950 in connexion with the purchase of a trawler for fishing in the Persian Gulf. Appointed Minister of Economics under Nuri Said in December 1950 and Acting Minister of Agriculture in April 1952. Defeated by Sadiq al Bassam in the elections of January 1953. Appointed to the Government Oil Board in February 1953. Appointed Minister of Finance under Arshad al Umari, April 1954. Elected Deputy for Muntafik, June 1954, and September 1954.

Appointed Minister of Development August 1954 and subsequently Minister without Portfolio after a small financial scandal.

Abdul Majid Mahmud was Secretary of the Muthanna Club, most of the members of which were Western educated nationalists with leanings towards national socialism, and was a founder member of the Ba'ath Club, which contains many of the same individuals whose ideals are now those of democratic socialists. He played an active part in the Rashid Ali movement. He is much under the influence of Fadhil al Jamali, but owes his ministerial appointments to Nuri al Said. He is President of the Alumni Club of the American University of Beirut in Bagdad.

To meet, he is a mild and friendly little man, who says that he has moved away from his earlier extreme nationalist ideas and believes in co-operation with the West. He was a member of the Committee appointed in 1951 to negotiate with the Iraq Petroleum Company and, in his capacity as Minister of Economics, signed the oil agreements in February 1952. It is doubtful whether he fully understood the complicated issues under discussion and was content to take his orders from Nuri Said. His wife speaks some English. He and his wife both go out of their way to be friendly to this Embassy. He was not an efficient Minister.

#### 18. Abdul Majid Qassab

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1908. Educated at Bagdad and Beirut. Took a medical degree at Montpellier. A member of the Muthanna Club. Joined the Constitutional Bloc in 1947 and the Nationalist Bloc of Independent Deputies in 1952. He voted for the ratification of the agreement between the Iraq Government and the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1952. Appointed Minister of Health in Nuruddin Mahmud's Cabinet in November 1952. During his few weeks in office he attempted to undo the work of his predecessors and antagonised most members of his Ministry. Was appointed Minister of Education in Jamali's first Cabinet in September 1953, when he and the Prime Minister insisted on reinstating in the schools and colleges students who had been expelled or imprisoned for Communist agitation. This measure, though liberal in its inspiration, led to an undoubted recrudescence of agitation among the students. Appointed Minister of Health in Jamali's second Cabinet (March 1954). Re-elected Deputy for Bagdad, June 1954, and again in June 1955. Unreliable and unbalanced. Was believed responsible for a murderous attack on Siddiq Shansal and others after the 1954 elections. He speaks French and some English.

#### 19. Abdul Muttalib Amin al Hashimi

Born 1907 in Bagdad. Sunni Moslem. A regular army officer who was at Sandhurst and later attached to the Royal Corps of Signals. He has also been on courses in England. Passed the Iraqi Staff College in 1949 and was for a short time Director of Military Intelligence at the Ministry of Defence. Military Attaché at Damascus 1949-52. In November 1952 was Military Commander of Bagdad and made a good showing during and after the riots. Assistant Chief of General Staff 1953. In October 1953 was appointed to Planning Staff of Military Committee of the Arab League and was Deputy Chief of Staff (Operations) and Major-General 1954. Retired and appointed Minister in Iraqi Foreign Service, February 1954. Appointed Minister to Indonesia, June 1954, where he was an *ex officio* member of the Iraqi Delegation to the Bandung Conference in 1955.

Intelligent and pleasant, Abdul Muttalib has figured in various highly complicated intrigues, notably concerning Syria, with the result that no one knows whether they can trust him. Speaks excellent English and is regarded as pro-British.

#### 20. Abdul Qadir al Gailani

Born in Bagdad in 1904 of the family of the Naqibs of Bagdad and a lineal descendant of Abdul Qadir Gailani who in the 11th century founded the Qadiriya Sect which spreads over North-West India and North and Central Africa. Elder brother of Yusuf Gailani (q.v.). Educated at Bagdad and studied at the London School of Economics. Entered the Foreign Service 1926, and served in London and Cairo, where he was in charge of the Legation several times between 1934 and 1940. Master of Ceremonies at the Royal Palace, 1940. He was closely associated with the rebel Government of Rashid Ali and after its collapse was interned in Rhodesia and later in Iraq. Released 1944. Reappointed to Foreign Service and sent as Chargé d'Affaires to Karachi, 1948. Transferred to Cairo, 1949, but was not appointed Minister because the Regent distrusts him for the part he played in 1941. In June 1951 he was appointed Counsellor in the Iraqi Foreign Service on special duty with the Arab League. Appointed Minister to Pakistan 1953.

He tries hard to be pleasant and has done his best to live down the past. He speaks good English. His Egyptian wife has little English, but speaks excellent French.

#### 21. Abdul Rahman Jaudat

Born about 1910. His father was Sunni and his mother Shia; he himself is considered a Shia. Educated Bagdad Law College.

Served as Qaimmaqam in Najaf Suq al Shuyukh and Diwaniya. Appointed Mutassarif in the Muntafik in 1946 and in Diwaniya in 1947. Mutassarif of Bagdad December 1949 and appointed Director-General of the Interior in June 1951. Minister of Health under Mustafa al Umari, July 1952. Minister of Communications and Works, December 1952, and of Agriculture, January and May 1953. Deputy for Hindiya, January 1953. Re-elected 1954.

A competent official and co-operative in his dealings with the British. He has not distinguished himself as a Minister. He is in poor health. He speaks some English.

#### 22. Abdul Rasul al Khalisi

Shia of Kadhmain and a nephew of the Shia Mujtahid Muhammad al Khalisi. Born in 1910. Joined Government service in 1932, served as Administrative Inspector and was appointed Mutassarif of Kerbela in September 1948. Transferred to Diyala in June 1950 and to Bagdad in June 1951. Appointed Minister of Justice and Acting Minister of Communications and Works in Nuruddin Mahmud's Cabinet in November 1952. Elected Deputy for Kadhmain in January 1953. Re-elected for Kadhmain 1954. Unintelligent and a fervent Shia. He speaks no English.

#### 23. Abdul Razzaq al Dhahir

Shia of Bagdad. Born about 1903. Younger brother of Abdul Hadi Dhahir (q.v.). He has travelled in Europe and speaks English fairly well. In 1942 he was attacked by a nervous disease which affected his brain, and he spent some time in a mental home in Beirut. Joined the Istiqlal Party when it was founded in 1946, but soon left it to join the late Sa'ad Saleh's Liberal Party, of which he continued to be a member until Sa'ad's death early in 1949. Deputy for Bagdad in 1948 and went on Iraqi



delegations to several inter-Parliamentary conferences. Minister of Economics in Ali Jaudat's Government of December 1949. He resigned with the opposition deputies in March 1950 and is a founder member of the United Popular Front. In June 1951 he was elected to the Front's Permanent Bureau. Arrested after the riots in November 1952. Announced in December 1953 his decision "to abandon politics temporarily."

Abdul Kazzaq and his brother are well off, having property in Bagdad and lands in Abu Ghuraib. He is a self-opinionated and somewhat unbalanced man with a wide range of superficial knowledge. A political opponent of Nuri Pasha. He has published a book damning tribal feudalism in Iraq and three volumes of essays inveighing against British imperialism.

#### 24. Abdul Wahhab Mahmud

Sunni of Basra. Born in 1909. Educated Basra and Bagdad, where he graduated in law in 1932. As a young man he held advanced Leftist opinions. Arrested by Jamil Madfai's Government in 1938 for attempting to raise the Diwaniya tribes against them. Released by Nuri Pasha after the military demonstration which removed the Madfai Government. Deputy 1939 to 1947. Minister of Finance in Suwaidi Cabinet of 1946. Member of the Liberal Party from 1946 to 1948, when the party suspended activity. Elected President of the Bar Association in 1950, 1951 and 1952. He was replaced as President in 1953 by Hussain Jamil (q.v.). He is one of the leading Iraqi fellow-travellers and played a prominent part in the agitation leading up to the riots in 1952. As a result he was detained for six weeks.

He was active during the elections of June 1954 but since the formation of Nuri al Said's Government has withdrawn from politics and turned his attention to making money.

#### 25. Abdul Wahhab Murjan

Born about 1910 of a rich Shia landowning family of Hilla. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he was appointed a judge about 1935 but soon resigned to practise as a lawyer.

In 1946 and 1947 he was leader in Hilla of Kamil Chaderchi's National Democratic Party but resigned in 1947 owing to his exclusion from the party's Higher Committee and to his being taken up by Saleh Jabr, who secured his election to the Chamber of Deputies in March 1947.

He was again elected Deputy for Hilla in the 1948 elections and was appointed Minister of Economics in June 1948 in Muzahim Pachachi's Government. Resigned on his election as President of the Chamber of Deputies in autumn 1948. Elected vice-President of Nuri Sa'id's Constitutional Union Party in December 1949. Became Minister of Communications and Works under Nuri Said in September 1950 and was transferred to Finance in December 1950. Elected President of the Chamber of Deputies in December 1951. Deputy for Hilla in January 1953. Minister of Communications and Works January and May 1953. Resigned after a quarrel with Said Qazzaz in May 1953. Elected President of Chamber of Deputies in December 1953. Re-elected for Hilla in June 1954 and September 1954, when he was again elected as President of the Chamber of Deputies after serving for a month as Minister of Agriculture. Visited Turkey in April 1955 with the Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation.

He is not very intelligent, but is pleasant, and owes most of his influence originally to Saleh Jabr's and recently to Nuri Sa'id's support. He has fallen foul of Saleh Jabr on two personal issues and may think in terms of setting himself up as a rival Shia leader. He knows a little English.

#### 26. Abdullah Bakr

Born 1907. A Sunni from Mosul. Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service at its inception and, after serving in various posts, was promoted to Minister Plenipotentiary in 1948. Chargé d'Affaires at the Iraqi Embassy in Washington in 1952. In the summer of 1953 was appointed Deputy Rais of the Royal Diwan and held that post until appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in Dr. Jamali's Government in September 1953. Headed the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in autumn 1953. Appointed Rais of the Royal Diwan in March 1954 and accompanied King Faisal on his State visit to Pakistan that month. Also accompanied the King on his visits to Jordan in April 1955 and Turkey in June 1955.

A pleasant if rather quiet personality with a suave manner, he can be relied upon to be sensible. His wife, also from Mosul, speaks English.

#### 27. Abdullah Damluji (Dr.)

Sunni, born in Mosul in 1895, and formerly called Abdullah Said Effendi. Studied medicine in Constantinople and served in the Turkish army, but transferred his allegiance to Ibn Saud when the latter occupied Hasa in 1913.

As Ibn Saud's Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1922 he signed the Uqair Protocol, and in 1926 took part in the negotiations in London which led to the Treaty of Jeddah in 1927. His influence with Ibn Saud afterwards waned and in 1928, after the failure of the Medina Railway Conference at Haifa, at which he was Ibn Saud's representative, he posted his resignation to Ibn Saud and came to Bagdad instead of returning to the Hejaz.

In Iraq he has been thrice Minister for Foreign Affairs (in 1930-31, 1934 and 1942), thrice Director-General of Health (1932-33, 1934-35 and 1941-42), and Master of Ceremonies at the Palace in 1937-38.

From 1942 onwards, he devoted himself mainly to business. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in 1947 and was elected Deputy for Mosul in the 1948 elections.

He was appointed Iraqi Ambassador in Tehran in February 1950. He spent most of his time in Bagdad however and eventually resigned from this post in May 1951. Minister of Education under Mustafa al Umari, July 1952.

Appears to have given up politics. He speaks English well.

#### 28. Abdullah Qassab

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1900, the son of an 'Alim, Abbas Amin al Fetwa. Educated Bagdad, graduated from the Law College, 1928, and entered Government Service. Qaimaqam Samarra 1936, Director of Tribal Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 1938, Mutasarrif of Diwaniya, 1941, Mosul, 1944, Director-General of the Date Association, 1947. Appointed Mayor of Bagdad, 1951. Returned to Date Association, March 1953. Represented Iraq at Arab/Italian Economic Conference held in Italy in September 1953.

Minister of Interior under Nuri Pasha, 1943 and again under Arshad al Umari in 1946.

A fairly capable administrator without marked political leanings. He is now a sick man.

#### 29. Ahmad al Ajil al Yawir (Shaikh)

Sunni Sheikh of the Shammar Jarba tribe. Younger brother of Sfuq al Ajil (q.v.), he was born about 1923 and educated at Victoria College, Alexandria and in Mosul and Bagdad.

He went to London with his father Ajil in 1937 to attend the coronation of His Majesty King George VI. After Ajil's death in 1940 Ahmad set about undermining Sfuq's position in the tribe, disputed the

inheritance with him, and in 1944 was suspected of being involved in an attempt to poison him with locust bait.

He became Deputy for Mosul in 1948 and in October of that year he was recognised by the Government as paramount Sheikh of the Shammar in Iraq instead of Mish'an al Faisal who had replaced Sfuq the previous June. He is now more popular than his rivals with the tribe, but constant intrigue amongst themselves has reduced the influence of all Shammar Sheikhs. Accompanied King Faisal II to America in 1952. Deputy for Tel Afar, January 1953, but because of Palace intervention was not re-elected in 1954. Included in Nuri's list of Deputies in September 1954.

Flashy, engaging and plausible, Ahmad is one of the very few English-speaking tribesmen. During the past six years he has, with two Syrian partners, devoted much time and hard work to mechanised grain farming on his land in the Jezireh and appears to have prospered. He is believed to be in touch with Ibn Saud.

#### 30. Ahmad Mukhtar Baban

Born about 1895. Sunni from near Khaniqin. He is not a true Baban but takes the name from a marriage connexion with the late Jamil Bey Baban of Kifri. Educated Bagdad Law School and served as a judge for many years. Director-General of Supplies, 1942. Successively Minister of Social Affairs, Communications and Works and Justice under Nuri Sa'id, 1942-44. Minister of Justice under Hamdi Pachachi 1944. Minister of Social Affairs, 1946. Head of the Royal Diwan, 1946. He visited Europe in the summer of 1951. Took a prominent part in the conduct of the elections of January 1953. Minister of Justice under Jamil Madfai, January 1953. Head of the Royal Diwan again in April 1953. Deputy Prime Minister in Jamali's second Cabinet, March 1954, and appointed a Senator. Appointed Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri in October 1954.

The advice he gave when Head of the Royal Diwan was not always good and by being all things to all men, he acquired a reputation for insincerity and for sinister intrigue. This reputation appears, however, to be exaggerated. As Deputy Prime Minister he has shown himself lacking in personal authority. He has divorced his wife and has one daughter at school in Beirut. He speaks little English.

#### 31. Ahmad al Rawi, K.B.E.

Born about 1896, the son of a Bagdad Sunni Alim. Brother of Najib al Rawi (q.v.). Became a police officer soon after the formation of the Iraq Government and after reaching the rank of Commandant, served in several liwas as a mutasarrif. In 1939 he was made an administrative inspector and soon afterwards was placed on pension.

After the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebel Government in 1941 he was recalled by Jamil Madfai and made Director-General of Police. He held this position successfully for four years of war and co-operated wholeheartedly with the British Forces. He was appointed Honorary K.B.E. for his war services in 1946.

Created Pasha by Amir Abdullah of Transjordan in 1943, he was appointed Iraqi Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in 1945 and to the King of Transjordan in 1946. He returned to Iraq the same year to take up the post, first of Director-General, and later (1949) of Under-Secretary, in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In this capacity he represented Iraq at several meetings of the Arab League Political Committee in 1948 and was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in the latter half of 1949. Appointed Iraqi Minister at Amman in January 1951. In May 1952 he was appointed Iraqi Minister

at Karachi. Defeated in the elections of January 1953. Appointed Ambassador to Lebanon, 1953. Elected as Deputy in Dulaim June 1954. Appointed Minister of Social Affairs under Arshad al Umari July 1954.

A supporter of Iraq's British connexion, Ahmad Pasha is an intelligent and pleasant man. More politician than administrator, he is generally well-informed but does not carry the weight that his position and connexion would lead one to expect.

Is on bad terms with Nuri Said and particularly the former Nazis among Nuri's supporters. For this reason he has remained jobless for the past year and is correspondingly embittered. He speaks English well.

#### 32. Akram Mushtaq

Sunni, born Bagdad 1903. Gazetted officer in the Iraqi army, 1927. Passed Cranwell and appointed to the Royal Iraqi Air Force, 1930. Captain, 1932; Major, 1937; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1938; Commander of the Royal Iraqi Air Force 1937 to 1939. Relieved of his command and commission and appointed Director-General of Civil Aviation in 1939. He still holds this post. Member of the Iraqi delegation to the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago in 1944.

He is an intelligent and likeable man and speaks English well, but he is an indifferent administrator and has little influence. He took an active part in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* of 1936 and some people still hold this against him. A drug-taker, he tried to commit suicide in 1949, and was afterwards sent to Europe to be cured.

#### 33. Ali Haidar Sulaiman

Born at Rowanduz 1905 of a well-known Kurdish family. Educated at Mosul and the American University, Beirut. He represented his university at the 1929 meeting of the International Students Union at Geneva.

Lecturer in Modern History at the Higher Teachers' Training College, 1930. Transferred to Ministry of Interior, 1933. Transferred to the Iraqi Foreign Service and served at Rome and Cairo between 1937 and 1939. He was interned after 1941 as a sympathiser with Rashid Ali (he is a brother-in-law of Yunis Sab'awi who was hanged for his part in the rebellion). Released in 1944 he became a partner of Ali Kemal in the New Bagdad scheme. In 1949 he was associated in business with Abdul Hadi Chelibi and was director of the firm, Iraq Engineering Works.

Deputy for Rowanduz 1948. Resigned 1950. Re-elected 1953 and June 1954. Not re-elected in September 1954. Minister of Social Affairs under Muzahim Pachachi, 1948. Minister of Communications and Works under Ali Jawdat, 1949-50. Appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary in the Iraqi Foreign Service in May 1951. Minister of Development in Dr. Jamali's first Government, September 1953, and of Economics in his second Government, March 1954, when he also acted as Minister of Development for a time. He has now gone back into commerce.

He supports Muzahim Pachachi and is opposed to Nuri Pasha. A sincere and intelligent nationalist with moderate reformist views. As a Minister he was industrious and painstaking but finds it difficult to delegate responsibility, partly for reasons of temperament but also because of lack of competent officials on whom to devolve work. His health is not robust and this is a continuous disability for him. Speaks good English. His wife appears in public, but does not know English.

#### 34. Ali Jaudat al'Ayyubi

Sunni of humble Mosul origin, born 1886. Educated at Istanbul and commissioned in the Turkish



delegations to several inter-Parliamentary conferences. Minister of Economics in Ali Jaudat's Government of December 1949. He resigned with the opposition deputies in March 1950 and is a founder member of the United Popular Front. In June 1951 he was elected to the Front's Permanent Bureau. Arrested after the riots in November 1952. Announced in December 1953 his decision "to abandon politics temporarily."

Abdul Razzaq and his brother are well off, having property in Bagdad and lands in Abu Ghuraib. He is a self-opinionated and somewhat unbalanced man with a wide range of superficial knowledge. A political opponent of Nuri Pasha. He has published a book damning tribal feudalism in Iraq and three volumes of essays inveighing against British imperialism.

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#### 27. Abdullah Damluji (Dr.)

Sunni, born in Mosul in 1895, and formerly called Abdullah Said Effendi. Studied medicine in Constantinople and served in the Turkish army, but transferred his allegiance to Ibn Saud when the latter occupied Hasa in 1913.

As Ibn Saud's Minister for Foreign Affairs in 1922 he signed the Uqair Protocol, and in 1926 took part in the negotiations in London which led to the Treaty of Jeddah in 1927. His influence with Ibn Saud afterwards waned and in 1928, after the failure of the Medina Railway Conference at Haifa, at which he was Ibn Saud's representative, he posted his resignation to Ibn Saud and came to Bagdad instead of returning to the Hejaz.

In Iraq he has been thrice Minister for Foreign Affairs (in 1930-31, 1934 and 1942), thrice Director-General of Health (1932-33, 1934-35 and 1941-42), and Master of Ceremonies at the Palace in 1937-38.

From 1942 onwards, he devoted himself mainly to business. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in 1947 and was elected Deputy for Mosul in the 1948 elections.

He was appointed Iraqi Ambassador in Tehran in February 1950. He spent most of his time in Bagdad however and eventually resigned from this post in May 1951. Minister of Education under Mustafa al Umari, July 1952.

Appears to have given up politics. He speaks English well.

#### 28. Abdullah Qassab

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1900, the son of an 'Alim, Abbas Amin al Fetwa. Educated Bagdad, graduated from the Law College, 1928, and entered Government Service. Qaimaqam Samarra 1936, Director of Tribal Affairs, Ministry of Interior, 1938, Mutasarrif of Diwaniya, 1941, Mosul, 1944, Director-General of the Date Association, 1947. Appointed Mayor of Bagdad, 1951. Returned to Date Association, March 1953. Represented Iraq at Arab/Italian Economic Conference held in Italy in September 1953.

Minister of Interior under Nuri Pasha, 1943 and again under Arshad al Umari in 1946.

A fairly capable administrator without marked political leanings. He is now a sick man.

#### 29. Ahmad al Ajil al Yawir (Shaikh)

Sunni Sheikh of the Shammar Jarba tribe. Younger brother of Sfuq al Ajil (q.v.), he was born about 1923 and educated at Victoria College, Alexandria and in Mosul and Bagdad.

He went to London with his father Ajil in 1937 to attend the coronation of His Majesty King George VI. After Ajil's death in 1940 Ahmad set about undermining Sfuq's position in the tribe, disputed the

inheritance with him, and in 1944 was suspected of being involved in an attempt to poison him with locust bait.

He became Deputy for Mosul in 1948 and in October of that year he was recognised by the Government as paramount Sheikh of the Shammar in Iraq instead of Mish'an al Faisal who had replaced Sfuq the previous June. He is now more popular than his rivals with the tribe, but constant intrigue amongst themselves has reduced the influence of all Shammar Sheikhs. Accompanied King Faisal II to America in 1952. Deputy for Tel Afar, January 1953, but because of Palace intervention was not re-elected in 1954. Included in Nuri's list of Deputies in September 1954.

Flashy, engaging and plausible, Ahmad is one of the very few English-speaking tribesmen. During the past six years he has, with two Syrian partners, devoted much time and hard work to mechanised grain farming on his land in the Jezireh and appears to have prospered. He is believed to be in touch with Ibn Saud.

#### 30. Ahmad Mukhtar Baban

Born about 1895. Sunni from near Khaniqin. He is not a true Baban but takes the name from a marriage connexion with the late Jamil Bey Baban of Kifri. Educated Bagdad Law School and served as a judge for many years. Director-General of Supplies, 1942. Successively Minister of Social Affairs, Communications and Works and Justice under Nuri Sa'id, 1942-44. Minister of Justice under Hamdi Pachachi 1944. Minister of Social Affairs, 1946. Head of the Royal Diwan, 1946. He visited Europe in the summer of 1951. Took a prominent part in the conduct of the elections of January 1953. Minister of Justice under Jamil Madfai, January 1953. Head of the Royal Diwan again in April 1953. Deputy Prime Minister in Jamali's second Cabinet, March 1954, and appointed a Senator. Appointed Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri in October 1954.

The advice he gave when Head of the Royal Diwan was not always good and by being all things to all men, he acquired a reputation for insincerity and for sinister intrigue. This reputation appears, however, to be exaggerated. As Deputy Prime Minister he has shown himself lacking in personal authority. He has divorced his wife and has one daughter at school in Beirut. He speaks little English.

#### 31. Ahmad al Rawi, K.B.E.

Born about 1896, the son of a Bagdad Sunni Alim. Brother of Najib al Rawi (q.v.). Became a police officer soon after the formation of the Iraq Government and after reaching the rank of Commandant, served in several liwas as a mutasarrif. In 1939 he was made an administrative inspector and soon afterwards was placed on pension.

After the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebel Government in 1941 he was recalled by Jamil Madfai and made Director-General of Police. He held this position successfully for four years of war and co-operated wholeheartedly with the British Forces. He was appointed Honorary K.B.E. for his war services in 1946.

Created Pasha by Amir Abdullah of Transjordan in 1943, he was appointed Iraqi Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in 1945 and to the King of Transjordan in 1946. He returned to Iraq the same year to take up the post, first of Director-General, and later (1949) of Under-Secretary, in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In this capacity he represented Iraq at several meetings of the Arab League Political Committee in 1948 and was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations in the latter half of 1949. Appointed Iraqi Minister at Amman in January 1951. In May 1952 he was appointed Iraqi Minister

at Karachi. Defeated in the elections of January 1953. Appointed Ambassador to Lebanon, 1953. Elected as Deputy in Dulaim June 1954. Appointed Minister of Social Affairs under Arshad al Umari July 1954.

A supporter of Iraq's British connexion, Ahmad Pasha is an intelligent and pleasant man. More politician than administrator, he is generally well-informed but does not carry the weight that his position and connexion would lead one to expect.

Is on bad terms with Nuri Said and particularly the former Nazis among Nuri's supporters. For this reason he has remained jobless for the past year and is correspondingly embittered. He speaks English well.

#### 32. Akram Mushtaq

Sunni, born Bagdad 1903. Gazetted officer in the Iraqi army, 1927. Passed Cranwell and appointed to the Royal Iraqi Air Force, 1930. Captain, 1932; Major, 1937; Lieutenant-Colonel, 1938; Commander of the Royal Iraqi Air Force 1937 to 1939. Relieved of his command and commission and appointed Director-General of Civil Aviation in 1939. He still holds this post. Member of the Iraqi delegation to the International Civil Aviation Conference at Chicago in 1944.

He is an intelligent and likeable man and speaks English well, but he is an indifferent administrator and has little influence. He took an active part in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* of 1936 and some people still hold this against him. A drug-taker, he tried to commit suicide in 1949, and was afterwards sent to Europe to be cured.

#### 33. Ali Haidar Sulaiman

Born at Rowanduz 1905 of a well-known Kurdish family. Educated at Mosul and the American University, Beirut. He represented his university at the 1929 meeting of the International Students Union at Geneva.

Lecturer in Modern History at the Higher Teachers' Training College, 1930. Transferred to Ministry of Interior, 1933. Transferred to the Iraqi Foreign Service and served at Rome and Cairo between 1937 and 1939. He was interned after 1941 as a sympathiser with Rashid Ali (he is a brother-in-law of Yunis Sab'awi who was hanged for his part in the rebellion). Released in 1944 he became a partner of Ali Kemal in the New Bagdad scheme. In 1949 he was associated in business with Abdul Hadi Chelabi and was director of the firm, Iraq Engineering Works.

Deputy for Rowanduz 1948. Resigned 1950. Re-elected 1953 and June 1954. Not re-elected in September 1954. Minister of Social Affairs under Muzahim Pachachi, 1948. Minister of Communications and Works under Ali Jawdat, 1949-50. Appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary in the Iraqi Foreign Service in May 1951. Minister of Development in Dr. Jamali's first Government, September 1953, and of Economics in his second Government, March 1954, when he also acted as Minister of Development for a time. He has now gone back into commerce.

He supports Muzahim Pachachi and is opposed to Nuri Pasha. A sincere and intelligent nationalist with moderate reformist views. As a Minister he was industrious and painstaking but finds it difficult to delegate responsibility, partly for reasons of temperament but also because of lack of competent officials on whom to devolve work. His health is not robust and this is a continuous disability for him. Speaks good English. His wife appears in public, but does not know English.

#### 34. Ali Jaudat al'Ayyubi

Sunni of humble Mosul origin, born 1886. Educated at Istanbul and commissioned in the Turkish



army. In Turkish times he was a member of the Arab Nationalist society Al Ahd al Iraqi. He fought against the British at Shuaibah but surrendered soon afterwards and was employed in 1915 to encourage Arab officer prisoners to join the Arab Revolt. Later he joined Faisal, and in 1920 was Faisal's Military Governor at Aleppo.

He returned to Iraq with King Faisal in 1921 and from then until 1923 he held various posts in the provincial administration. In 1922 he took an active part in agitation against the Mandate.

As Minister for Interior under Ja'far al Askari (1923-24) he voted for the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1922. He was again a provincial Governor and later worked in the Ministry of Interior between 1924 and 1930, when he became Minister of Interior under Nuri Sa'id. He resigned from the Cabinet in September 1930 and also (in company with Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali) from the Chamber of Deputies in protest against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930.

Private Secretary to the King 1933; Prime Minister 1934, he was forced to resign by an agitation against him throughout the country organised by Yasin al Hashimi and Rashid Ali.

President of the Chamber of Deputies, 1935. Iraqi Minister in London, August 1935; Paris, December 1936-October 1937. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Sa'id 1939.

After the Rashid Ali *coup d'état* in April 1941 he joined the Regent at Basra and accompanied him to Jerusalem. After the collapse of the rebellion he returned to Baghdad and became Minister for Foreign Affairs under Jamil Madfai in June 1941.

Iraqi Minister at Washington 1942-48. He joined Muzahim Pachachi's Government in the reshuffle of September 1948 as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and in December 1949 he succeeded, after two failures, in forming a Cabinet which resigned in February 1950. Deputy Prime Minister under Jamil Madfai, January and May 1953.

He has always been a weak and vacillating character of small intelligence and he is now a semi-invalid. He is, however, well meaning and friendly, and he is respected for his Nationalist past. He is in close touch with the United States Embassy. He has become rich through acquiring Government land. His wife is a Syrian who speaks good English, his elder son is married to an American and his daughter is married to the son of Muzahim al Pachachi (q.v.). His sons are close friends of the King and the elder son Nizar is the agent for several British firms. Ali Jawdat speaks English.

### 35. Ali Khalid al Hejazi, C.B.E.

Sunni, born about 1893 in Damascus. After serving in the Ottoman army he became an officer in the Kurdish gendarmerie at the end of the first world war and was awarded the B.E.M. and the M.C. for gallantry during campaigns in Kurdistan.

Appointed Inspector of Police, 1921; Assistant Commandant of Police, 1923; Commandant of Police in the Mobile Force, 1935; Commandant of Police Sulaimaniya, 1937. He was Commandant of Police Bagdad from after the Rashid Ali rebellion in 1941 until 1946 and did good work to stop looting after May 1941.

In 1946 he was appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services.

Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya 1947-48, he was one of the very few Arab officials to speak fluent Kurdish. Appointed Director-General of Police in May 1948, he did much to restore the police morale which had been shaken as a result of the disturbances of January 1948. A heavy drinker and a poor administrator, but tough and strict in discipline, he set about re-equipping the police, especially the mobile forces. He was loyal to the Regent and the British connexion.

In February 1950 in a fit of drunken resentment he made an abortive attempt to use his mobile forces against the Government. He was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment. The sentence was later reduced to three and a half years, and he was released in November 1950 by Nuri Sa'id.

A courageous but stupid man who was more than normally corrupted by power, his thoughts may have been turned to the use of force by the example of the three successful Syrian *coups d'état* of 1949.

### 36. Ali Mahmud Shaikh Ali

Sunni, connected with the Ubaid tribe. Born Bagdad, 1902. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he practised as a lawyer from 1923 to 1936. An extreme Nationalist, he was arrested both in 1924 and 1930 for violent agitation against Anglo-Iraqi treaties. He was twice elected Deputy.

Appointed judge in the Court of Appeal in 1936 and Minister of Justice under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937. Mutasarrif of Basra, 1939; Director-General of Customs, 1940. Again Minister of Justice in Rashid Ali's rebel Cabinet, he fled to Persia after Rashid Ali's collapse but was later surrendered to the British military authorities and interned in Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Iraq, tried and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in 1942. During his internment he embarked upon an immense history of Palestine, taking the story back to pre-Islamic times.

Released in 1949, he practised as a lawyer. Appointed Director-General of Customs, July 1952. Minister of Finance under Mustafa al Umari for one week and then under Nuruddin Mahmud in November 1952. He drafted most of the ordinances issued by that Government aimed at lowering the cost of living of the lower classes. Appointed Vice-President, Court of Cassation, July 1953.

He is now on good terms with members of this Embassy, but he remains a rather unbalanced Nationalist.

### 37. Ali Mumtaz al Daftari

Born 1901. Sunni of the Daftari family of Bagdad. Educated at Bagdad Law College and entered Government service in 1920. Rose to be Director-General of Revenues by 1935, but had to leave Iraq after Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* which overthrew the Government of Yasin al Hashemi in 1936. Re-appointed Director-General of Revenues by Nuri Sa'id in 1939.

Minister of Finance under Taha al Hashemi, 1941. Director of Rafidain Bank 1941. Again Minister of Finance under Nuri Sa'id in 1941 and 1943. Minister of Communications and Works under Tawfiq Suweidi in 1946. Minister of Finance under Muzahim Pachachi in 1948 and under Ali Jawdat, December 1949 to February 1950. Resigned from the Chamber of Deputies in 1950.

Appointed a Member of the Development Board in November 1950 and tendered his resignation from the Board in June 1951. Minister of Finance under Jamil Madfai, January and May 1953. Appointed Senator, April 1953. The most energetic Minister in that Cabinet, Ali Mumtaz earned the respect of almost all Deputies for his conduct of affairs in the Chamber. Accompanied King Faisal on a State visit to Ammam, August 1953. Minister of Finance in Jamali's second Government March 1954, he did not make much of a showing because of indifferent health and the short life of the Government. He has now reverted to his Law practice.

He was a member of the Liberal Party formed in 1946, but resigned in 1948. His name has frequently been mentioned as a possible neutral Prime Minister. He gives an impression of sincerity and ability, but when in power finds difficulty in co-operating with his Cabinet colleagues. He has been

involved in at least one financial scandal. He and his wife, who is the daughter of the late Yasin al Hashimi, speak very good English.

He is said to have been investing in land on a large scale. His financial reputation continues to be clouded, due, it is rumoured, to his having to find large sums to pay his wife's gambling debts.

### 38. Ali al Safi (Dr.)

Born 1913. Shia of Najaf. Studied at Heidelberg, taking a Ph.D. in political economy, remaining in Germany during at least part of 1939-45 war, and is believed to have co-operated there with Rashid Ali al Gailani. He joined the Iraq Government service in 1948 as an instructor at the College of Engineering and became subsequently Assistant Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in the Ministry of Communications, where he failed to get on with the Director-General and was appointed Director of the semi-official National Leather Industry Company.

Was delegated by the Arab League, with two others, to try and dissuade the Federal German Government from paying reparations to Israel but is said to have succeeded only in making himself obnoxious to the German authorities.

Appointed Minister of Economics by Arshad al Umari in April 1954. Elected Deputy for Najaf in June 1954. Not re-elected in September 1954.

### 39. Ali al Sharqi

Shia from Najaf. Born about 1890. Originally a Mulla in Najaf and later Qadhi in Basra and elsewhere, he finally became Head of the Supreme Ja'afari Court. He was made a Senator in 1947 during Saleh Jabr's term of office. Minister without Portfolio in Ali Jawdat's Government of December 1949. Minister of State under Jamil Madfai, May 1953, and under Nuri in August 1954.

He is of no political importance but is very well informed on internal matters. Is said to be making a tidy fortune by smuggling.

### 40. Arkan Abadi

Shia, born in 1919. A tribesman of the Fetlah tribe of Diwaniyah. Brother of Kadhim Abadi (q.v.). Educated at the London School of Economics. Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service in 1944. He accompanied Fadhl al-Jamali to the Palestine Conference in London in September 1946.

Deputy for Diwaniyah in 1947 and 1948. Resigned in 1950. Contested a by-election in 1950 but was defeated by Government action. Deputy for the Muntafiq in November 1950 and for Shamiya in January 1953. He was offered the portfolio of Agriculture by Nasrat al-Farisi during his abortive attempt to form a Cabinet in January 1953. Re-elected in 1954. Was a member of Nuri Sa'id's Constitutional Union Party and is bitterly opposed to Saleh Jabr. Spent the summer of 1953 in the United States on an American bursary. Was Minister without Portfolio in charge of village and tribal affairs in Jamali's first Government (September 1953) and Minister of Social Affairs in Jamali's second Government (March 1954).

Arkan is not particularly bright—it is a current joke that it took him ten years to get his degree at the London School of Economics—but he has common sense and was a not unsuccessful Minister. He is always immaculate in a somewhat "Brooks Brothers" style.

He and his wife, who is the daughter of Jamil Madfai, speak excellent English.

### 41. Arshad al Umari, K.B.E.

Sunni, born in 1888 of the well-known Umari family of Mosul. Educated in Turkey and employed 48962

as Municipal Engineer in Istanbul. He served on the Turkish staff in 1914-18 war.

A member of the first Iraqi Parliament, he later held several official appointments. Mayor of Bagdad from 1931 to 1933, and again from 1936 to 1944, with a short interruption in 1941 when he formed a Committee of Internal Security to conclude an armistice with the British forces after Rashid Ali's flight. He was a successful Mayor and can claim credit for much of such modernisation as Bagdad has achieved.

He represented Iraq at the Arab Unity Congress in Cairo in 1944 which resulted in the formation of the Arab League and in 1945 he led the Iraqi delegation to San Francisco. Minister of Economics and Communications under Ali Jawdat in 1934. Minister of Supply under Hamdi Pachachi in 1944. Appointed a Senator in June 1944. He was Prime Minister from June to November 1946, and aroused great opposition by his dictatorial methods. He played some part in the political intrigues which resulted in the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty and was Minister of Defence in the Government of Mohammed al Sadr which took over after the Portsmouth riots. Resigned his seat in the Senate in November 1950 on his appointment as Vice-Chairman of the Development Board. In this capacity his erratic nature and his tendency to concentrate all work in his own hands earned him much criticism, which his outspoken retaliation did nothing to assuage. On the other hand, there was probably no other Iraqi who would have applied so much energy to the work of the Board; but even his ebullient nature was finally overborne by the merciless criticism of his work in the Development Board. He threw in his hand in June 1953 and his resignation from the Board was accepted in July. As a sop he was reappointed to the Senate.

Prime Minister and Acting Minister of Development, April 1954. He was responsible for the elections of June 1954 and managed to quarrel with a number of his Ministers.

He is president of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society and has done a good deal to improve their finances. His daughter, Mme. Mumtaz al Umari, is a leading figure in the Ladies' Committee of this society.

He has an attractive personality and a capacity for hard work which is rare in an Iraqi, but his rapid changes of opinion, his obstinacy and impatience of criticism make him unfit for politics. He speaks Turkish and some rather curious French. He was appointed Honorary K.B.E. for war services in 1946, and is always referred to as "Pasha."

### 42. Ata Amin

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1898. Educated at the Bagdad Law School.

Assistant Private Secretary to King Faisal, 1921. Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service in 1925 and was appointed to the Iraqi Legation in London. Legal draftsman in the Ministry of Justice, 1927. Returned to the Foreign Service in 1928 and held appointments at Ankara, London, Rome, Paris and Berlin between 1932 and 1943. From 1940 to 1943 he was in charge of the Iraqi Legation in London. Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, 1943; Minister at Ankara, 1944; transferred to Paris, 1949. Director-General of Government Oil Board in July 1952.

He is married to a sister of the Amir Zaid. He speaks good English.

His appointment to the Oil Board caused some criticism as he had no qualifications for the job either in experience or personality.

### 43. Baba Ali Shaikh Mahmud (Shaikh)

Kurd. Born about 1912, second son of the well-known Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.). He spent much of his



childhood in Persia, when his father was engaged in various rebellions. Between 1928 and 1932 he was educated at the expense of the Iraq Government at Victoria College, Alexandria, where he was a classmate of the Regent. Later he went to Columbia University.

He was appointed to a minor post in the railways in 1938, but soon resigned. His outspoken criticism of Iraqi administration in Kurdish areas led to his arrest and exile for a few months in 1943. A repetition of the offence in 1945 narrowly missed having the same result. He is still a strong critic of the Iraq Government's handling of Kurdish problems.

Minister of Economics under Arshad al Umari in 1946 and in the succeeding Government of Nuri Pasha. Deputy for Sulaimaniya, 1947; lost his seat in 1948.

Baba Ali speaks excellent English and possesses an attractive, though not very forceful, personality. He is interested in the improvement of agriculture in Kurdistan and particularly in the growing and marketing of tobacco. Since 1948 he has spent much of his time in Sulaimaniya and although not a member of his party, was Saleh Jabr's most influential supporter in Sulaimaniya. He is now running a business in Bagdad.

He visited America in 1950 and since then has been in close contact with the United States Embassy. His father finds his preoccupation with Iraqi politics and scientific agriculture strange and undignified and infinitely prefers his wild younger brother Shaikh Latif.

#### 44. Bahauddin Nuri

Kurd, born in Bagdad about 1897 of an Erbil family. His father was a well-known 'Alim. Educated in Bagdad, he joined the Turkish army in 1917 and the Iraqi army in 1921.

In 1924 he was First-Lieutenant Small Arms Instructor and in 1927 he was promoted Captain. Passed Iraqi Staff College, 1930; attended Staff College Camberley, 1935-36. On his return to Iraq he was deeply involved in Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'état* and was thereafter appointed to Operations Branch. Dismissed from the army by Taha al Hashimi in 1938, he became Assistant Traffic Director on the Iraqi State Railways.

In autumn 1941 he rejoined the army as Major-General and was appointed Assistant C.G.S., but was retired again in 1944. He was Acting Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya in 1944 and was elected Deputy for Sulaimaniya in 1947 and 1948. Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Said during 1949. Appointed a Minister Plenipotentiary in the Iraqi Foreign Service in May 1951, and chargé d'affaires at Tehran. Ambassador there in 1953, where he has proved a competent representative.

One of the most capable Staff Officers in the Iraqi army, he suffered twice for his connexion with Bekr Sidqi. He is an intelligent man and a fairly good administrator; but in spite of a frank and engaging demeanour he is not entirely honest or reliable. He is a Freemason and a connoisseur of mystic poetry, but he is also self-seeking. As Minister he was co-operative with the British, but he was widely censured for his continued connexions with a Lebanese firm supplying the Government. He speaks Arabic, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and English well.

#### 45. Burhanuddin Bashayan

Born 1914, a member of a prominent Sunni Muslim family of Basra.

Trained as a lawyer and has also commercial interests in Basra. Has often been one of Basra's representatives in Parliament, as at present. Politically he started in the Opposition and was previously a member of the United Popular Front,

in which party he served on both the Political Committee and the Administrative Committee. He left the United Popular Front in 1954 and since then has supported Nuri al Said, by whom he was again returned to Parliament in September 1954. Appointed Minister without Portfolio in Nuri's Government in August 1954, and subsequently Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs during the prolonged absences of Dr. Musa al Shabandar. As such he played a considerable part in the negotiation of the Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement of 1955. Was appointed substantive Minister of Foreign Affairs in May.

Despite an impression of slowness, he is quick to seize a point and a pleasant and patient negotiator with a good grasp of international affairs.

Visited the United Kingdom in March 1954, as a member of the Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation, guests of the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

#### 46. Darwish al Haidari

Born in Bagdad in 1907 of the Haidari family which originated from Erbil. Educated at the American University, Beirut, and at Texas University where he studied agriculture.

Entered Government service, 1930. Director of Rustamiya Experimental Farm, 1933 and of Abu Ghuraib Experimental Farm, 1940. Director of Grain in the Local Products Directorate of the Ministry of the Interior, 1942. Transferred back to the Department of Agriculture after he had been accused of the illegal disposal of a quantity of grain.

He was on the Iraqi delegation to the Hot Springs Food Conference in 1943 and since becoming Director-General of Agriculture in 1946 he has represented Iraq at several international conferences of Food and Agricultural Organisation. Visited Canada in 1952 to buy wheat for Iraq Government.

Fat and jovial in appearance, he has a strong personality and much energy, initiative and determination, mainly directed towards furthering his own interests. He is a devout Moslem and a Xenophobe. He is a dictator in his department and his jealousy of any interference has made it difficult for British experts to co-operate with him. On account of his American training he is generally believed to be biased in favour of American machinery and ideas, but the United States Point IV officials in Iraq have found him equally difficult. A window dresser, and regarded by many as a barrier to progress. Was removed from his post by Arshad al Umari in May 1954 and appointed to a less important one in the Ministry of Development. He incontinently went on leave, but later thought better of it and returned determined to make a success of his new job by a full-scale soil-survey of Iraq before requesting to be put on pension. He unsuccessfully contested a by-election in Bagdad in June, 1955, and hankers after a political career.

Darwish is a keen farmer on his own and tries to put into practice some the principles he has preached.

He and his wife, who is a sister of Yusuf and Abdul Qadir Gailani (q.v.) speak good English and French.

#### 47. Daud al Haidari

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1885. Son of a one-time Sheikh al Islam, his family is of Kurdish origin from Erbil. Once an A.D.C. to Sultan Abdul Hamid, he spent the 1914-18 war in Constantinople and came to Bagdad in 1921.

Member for Erbil in the Constituent Assembly in 1924. Minister of Justice under Tawfiq Suweidi, 1929. Deputy for Erbil, 1930-34.

Iraqi Minister in Tehran, 1941-42. Minister of Justice under Nuri Said, 1942-43. Minister in

London, 1943-45. Appointed Senator in 1945. Minister of Social Affairs in Mohammed al Sadr's Cabinet, January-June 1948.

He was an intermediary when the British Oil Development Company's concession was negotiated and has since been paid a retaining fee by the Basra and Mosul Petroleum Companies, who describe him as their legal adviser, but do not in fact consult him. He resigned from the Senate under a new interpretation of the Constitution in March 1949 rather than give up this fee.

Daud Pasha is a friend of the Crown Prince but is widely distrusted both politically and financially. He was involved in the agitation against the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948, but by 1952 he had become a supporter of Saleh Jabr.

His daughter and his step-daughter are well known in Bagdad society, being married respectively to Dr. Saib Shawkat and Rauf al Chadirchi (q.v.).

He speaks English fairly well and is well disposed towards the British, but his actions tend to be dictated by his financial embarrassments. A nice old man with a taste for horse-racing. He looks as though he had spent a fortune—as indeed he has and enjoyed every minute of it.

#### 48. Dhia Ja'far (Dr.)

Bagdad Shia, born in 1911. He studied mechanical engineering at Birmingham University, where he obtained a B.Sc. in 1934 and a Ph.D. in 1936, and then had twenty months' training with the Great Western Railway.

Appointed Assistant Mechanical Engineer in the Iraqi State Railways in 1937, he was subsequently promoted to be Mechanical Engineer. During the war he was Director-General of Engineering Supplies.

Deputy for Bagdad in 1947. He failed in the 1948 elections, but was later returned for Kerbala in a by-election.

Minister of Communications and Works under Saleh Jabr in 1947 and of Economics under Nuri Said in 1949 and under Tawfiq Suweidi in 1950. A founder-member and member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party, December 1949. Minister of Economics under Nuri Said in September 1950. Transferred to Communications and Works in December 1950. He played a prominent part in the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company in 1950 and 1951. Appointed Acting Minister of Finance in December 1951. Headed the Iraqi delegation which proceeded to London in June 1952 for discussions on Iraq's sterling balances and other financial matters. Elected Deputy for Bagdad January 1953. Re-elected 1954. Minister of Economics under Jamil Madfai in January and May 1953. Headed Iraqi economic delegation to London in July 1953. In March 1954 he visited India and Pakistan with Nuri Said to discuss Middle East defence and neutrality. Was a Member of Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation to United Kingdom in April 1954.

Appointed Minister of Finance under Nuri Said, August 1954.

He is well educated and speaks excellent English. He was a successful Minister of Economics, and is a strong supporter of Nuri Said, having close connexions also with Saleh Jabr. He is a conservative and orthodox financier.

He helped to save British property in 1941. The financial reputation of his family is doubtful.

He enjoys British company, but is resentful against what he considers the unequal relationship between Britain and Iraq, and is consequently difficult to deal with officially. The I.P.C. regarded him as the main obstacle to an agreement on oil problems. He is extremely ambitious and has energy

and ability, and must be reckoned with as a potential Prime Minister.

His wife, who is related to the Agha Khan, looks as though she would be more at home in Beirut than in Bagdad. She speaks some English.

#### 49. Fadhil Jamali (Dr.)

Shia of Kadhmain, born 1902. Educated American University, Beirut, 1921-27, and Columbia University 1927-29. Joined the Ministry of Education, 1929. Director-General of Instruction, 1933; Inspector-General of the Ministry, 1937. He visited Germany in 1937 and made arrangements for an Iraqi party to attend the Nuremburg Rally of 1938. Visited England in 1938 at the invitation of the British Council.

He was a founder member of the Muthanna Club, whose members were mostly Western educated nationalists, and whose political thinking was much influenced by national socialism. He strongly resisted British influence in the Ministry of Education and it was British influence which caused his transfer from that Ministry to a position in the Iraqi Embassy in Washington in January 1943. He did not take up this appointment, but became Director-General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in 1944. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945.

Foreign Minister from June 1946 to January 1948 in the successive Cabinets of Arshad al Umari, Nuri Said and Saleh Jabr. During this time he attended the Palestine Conference in London in 1946 and the United Nations General Assembly in 1947. He was out of politics for a time after the failure of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948, but was given a sinecure in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs later in the same year and was appointed Iraqi Minister in Cairo in February 1949. He was recalled almost immediately to become Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Pasha in March 1949. He resigned after six months under a constitutional rule, since he had no seat in Parliament, and was appointed Permanent Iraqi delegate to the United Nations Organisation. He was elected Deputy for Diwaniya in the by-elections of June 1950 and became President of the Chamber of Deputies in December 1950. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Mustafa al Umari, July 1952, and Nuruddin Mahmud, November 1952. Headed Iraqi delegation to United Nations, October 1952. Deputy for Diwaniya, January 1953, and elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. Was appointed Prime Minister in September 1953 and in March 1954 formed a second Cabinet, which, however, only survived a few weeks. He attended the Arab League meetings of October 1953. Minister for Foreign Affairs in Arshad al Umari's Government April 1953, when he was taken ill with a gastric ulcer. Re-elected for Diwaniya 1954. Received an honorary degree from Columbia University (July 1954). Represented Iraq at the United Nations in 1954 and at the Bandung Conference in 1955.

Jamali is a self-made man, and is one of the first of the type to reach a prominent position. Although he is ambitious, he is unlikely to become a powerful influence in the country, having little political support in his own right.

His period as Prime Minister was characterised by fair promises and lack of performance. Too much time was wasted on foreign and particularly Arab affairs and too little on social measures and much-needed reform of the Administration. It must be added, however, in fairness, that he had to contend with a Parliament with a Conservative majority which blocked or whittled down all attempts at reform and a vocal Opposition which tried with some success to shake the morale of his Ministers. His relations with both the British and the American



Embassies were marked by complete frankness. He gave up the premiership in April 1954 with his reputation for integrity and sincerity unimpaired but his political weakness, instability of purpose and lack of powers of leadership had been exposed. He also showed a remarkable capacity for self-deception which led him to form his second Government when his political reputation made it much wiser for him to refuse to do so in view of his lack of support in the Chamber.

The xenophobic nationalism of his younger days has been greatly modified by his extensive contacts with the West and by a genuine conviction of the necessity for Iraq of co-operation with the West. But he will never forgive the British policy in Palestine and the Shia fanatic is not far below the surface. He is interested in Western literature and likes Western music.

He is married to a Canadian and has a large circle of British and American friends.

#### 50. Faiq Samarra

Sunni, born at Basra about 1904. Educated Bagdad Law College, 1928-32. Appointed a secretary in the Ministry of Justice, 1933; transferred to Tapu Department 1934; Superintendent of Labour, Ministry of Interior, 1935, and attended a Labour Conference at Geneva in 1936. After a further period in the Ministry of Justice, he became Director-General of Press and Propaganda in 1939. After a short period of service in the police and at the Ministry of Social Affairs, he became Director-General of Municipalities in 1940.

An extreme anti-foreign nationalist since his student days, he served a short sentence in 1930 for his part in the demonstrations against the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty. He was an active supporter of Rashid Ali and was interned from 1941 to 1945 at Fao, where he caused much trouble to the authorities. He was a founder member of the Istiqlal Party in 1946, Secretary-General in 1947 and vice-president 1948, 1949 and 1950. Deputy for Samarra 1948, he resigned with the opposition Deputies in March 1950, but was again elected in the by-elections of June 1950. In 1949 and early 1950 he travelled in Syria and Lebanon for his party to make propaganda for Iraqi-Syrian union. Resigned with the other Istiqlal Deputies from the Chamber of Deputies in February 1952 in protest against the manner in which they alleged Nuri Said was attempting to railroad the Oil Agreements through Parliament. Took a leading part in the agitation which led to the riots in 1952. He was interned for six weeks. In June 1954 was defeated in elections at Samarra but is convinced that it was as a result of fraud by the Government.

A grossly fat and unhealthy looking individual with a bad moral reputation, he is nevertheless intelligent, and a persuasive talker. His nationalist views are sincerely held, but are probably subject to modification if it suited his personal ambition. His attitude to Great Britain became slightly less hostile during 1949, possibly owing to the influence of Nuri Pasha who was in that year attempting to split the Istiqlal Party. He is not altogether trusted by his party colleagues. He speaks English.

#### 51. Fakhri Jamil al Fakhri, C.B.E.

Born in Mosul in 1910. Shia. Joined Government service in 1933 after studying abroad at Birmingham University. Chief Engineer to the Bagdad Municipality and subsequently served with the Development Board, where he was Director-General of the 2nd Technical Committee in charge of public works. Appointed Minister of Communications and Works by Arshad al Umari in April 1954 and in June 1954 became Lord Mayor of Bagdad.

Awarded a C.B.E. in 1955 for services in connection with the British Trade Fair held in Bagdad in 1954.

Is not a politician. His general attitude to ourselves has always been friendly. His English is good.

#### 52. Fakhri Tabagchali

Sunni. Born about 1900.

Began his official career as a judge. Mutasarrif of Amara, 1945 and Basra, 1948. Appointed to the Court of Cassation in December 1949 and made President of the Tribal Court of Cassation in 1950. Lord Mayor of Bagdad, April 1953. Minister of Justice under Arshad al Umari, April 1954 and Acting Minister of the Interior (June 1954).

He is a protégé of the late Hamdi al Pachachi.

Pompous, a showman and said to be corrupt, he is unpopular with his subordinates. He speaks fair English.

#### 53. Ghazi Muhammad Fadhil al Daghestani, C.V.O. (Brigadier)

Sunni born in Bagdad 1910. Son of Muhammad Pasha Daghestani, a Turkish General, and brother of the wives of Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.) and Najib al Rawi (q.v.).

Attended the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, and the Staff Colleges at Quetta and Bagdad. Originally an engineer, he later transferred to the artillery. Appointed Military Attaché in London in April 1952 and served as A.D.C. to the Duke of Gloucester at the accession of King Faisal II in May 1953. At present Director of Military Operations and Acting Deputy Chief of General Staff (Operations), and as such played an active part in the negotiations leading to the Anglo-Iraqi Agreement of April 1955.

Ghazi Daghestani is the Turk first and foremost; he has no Arab blood in his veins and in foreign company is liable to refer to his compatriots as "these Arabs." He is sending his son and daughter to Eton and Heathfield respectively and his appearance and manner are in keeping. He is pro-British and both he and his attractive and wealthy wife speak excellent English and French in addition to Turkish and Arabic. An intelligent, high-principled aristocrat and an able officer, he might well take a prominent part in politics in the future. He quarrelled violently with the Regent over the despatch of Iraqi troops to Palestine in 1943 but his family influence and his strength of character have enabled him to retain his position in the army and in society.

#### 54. Hashim Jawad

Sunni, born Bagdad 1911, the son of a small official. He was educated at the American University, Beirut, and at London University, from which he graduated in Economics in 1936.

He was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Council of Ministers in 1936, joined the Iraqi foreign service in 1938 and was sent as Iraqi representative to the International Labour Organisation at Geneva. He returned to Iraq in 1941 and in 1942 became the first Acting Director-General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs. He also acted as Secretary to a committee for the organisation of post-war affairs in Iraq. In his capacity of Director-General of Labour, he took part in the settlement of the Iraq Petroleum Company strike at Kirkuk in 1946. Later in the same year he was removed from his post by Arshad al Umari who regarded him as a fellow-traveller. In 1947 he was appointed to a position in the I.L.O. and has only paid short visits to Iraq since then.

A quiet and studious man with a clear head and a genuine interest in labour questions, he found the

conditions in the Ministry of Social Affairs extremely frustrating. He is married to a Swiss and speaks excellent English.

#### 55. Hussain Makki Khammas

Born 1899 in Bagdad. A Sunni Muslim. Officer in Ottoman Army and a regular officer in the Iraqi Army Engineers. Took a course at the Staff College, Quetta, and went on secondment to United Kingdom on various occasions. Director-General (Administration) and later Acting Chief of General Staff after the appointment of General Nuruddin Mahmud (q.v.) as Prime Minister. Minister of Defence in Dr. Jamali's Governments (September 1953 and March 1954) and again in Arshad al Umari's Government (April 1954). Appointed a Senator in March 1954. Now head of the Military Affairs Committee in the Senate.

Hussain Makki is elderly, tired and lacking in drive. He is not a good administrator. As Minister of Defence he was purely a figure-head and fast lost the respect of many of his officers who are inclined to regard him as a benign buffoon.

He speaks English well, and in his personal relations with British officers he is friendly. He genuinely prefers the English way and methods to those of other foreign Powers.

#### 56. Hassan Sami Tatar

Turcoman of Kirkuk, born about 1899. His education at the Constantinople Law School was interrupted by the first world war, in which he was taken prisoner by the British forces in Mesopotamia and spent two years in a prisoner-of-war camp in India.

Returning to Iraq after the armistice, he entered the newly founded Bagdad Law College and passed out at the head of the first batch of graduates. He was immediately appointed a judge in Bagdad and thereafter served in the Ministry of Justice and on the Court of Cassation until in February 1950 he became Minister of Justice under Tawfiq al Suweidi. Minister of Justice again under Nuri Said in September 1950. Elected Deputy for Khanaqin in February 1951. Appointed first Iraqi President of the Court of Cassation, July 1951.

He is a quiet man with no particular political affiliations. He speaks Arabic and Turkish.

#### 57. Hassan al Suhail (Shaikh)

Born in 1889 and brought up among the tribesmen of the Bani Tamim, of whom he is now Paramount Shaikh. The family acquired wealth through the possession of land in the neighbourhood of Bagdad which was irrigated during the British Mandate. At one time in receipt of an official salary in return for the good behaviour of his tribe, he has found it to his interest, consistently to support the ruling family in Bagdad. During the Rashid Ali rebellion he was interned but resumed his former position after the rebellion had been put down. Although not a major tribal figure, he enjoys some social prestige due to the proximity of his tribe to the capital; the Iraq Government make frequent calls on his hospitality to offer suitable "Arab" entertainment to visiting notables. Politically, he has supported Saleh Jabr, and has often been a Deputy. Commercially, he enjoyed a spell as the decorative local agent for Cadillac, and has still some commercial interests.

#### 58. Hassan al Talabani (Shaikh)

Kurd, born about 1911 of a well-known family of Kirkuk. His ancestors were heads of a Sufi brotherhood. He graduated from the Bagdad Law College in 1934 and joined the Ministry of Interior in 1935. He served as Qaimmaqam in various Kurdish districts and at Mandali. Appointed Mutasarrif of

Sulaimaniya early in 1947, transferred to Erbil later in the year, to Hilla in 1948, to Diyala early in 1950 and Dulaim in October 1950. A.H.Q., R.A.F., Habbaniya, found him very helpful. Re-transferred to Diyala, August 1952. Made Mutasarrif of Kut 1953 and Director-General of Guidance and Broadcasting June 1954 by Arshad al Umari. In 1955 appointed Inspector-General, Ministry of Finance—a sinecure which suits him well.

He visited Europe and England in the summer of 1949.

He is intelligent, honest and capable. He is not a strong character, but as an administrator he makes up in some measure for his lack of strength by persistence and a good sense of diplomacy. He has not yet entered politics but will probably do so eventually. He is well liked by Saleh Jabr and Arshad al Umari. Personally he is good company. He speaks Kurdish and Arabic, some Turkish and good English.

#### 59. Hassib al Rubaii (Major-General)

A Sunni Muslim born in Bagdad about 1906 of the influential Rubaii family; brother of Najib al Rubaii (q.v.), the General Officer Commanding, 3rd Cadre Division.

An infantry officer who passed through Sandhurst in 1925 and was subsequently attached to British army units in the United Kingdom. Passed the Staff College course, Camberley, in 1937. In September 1953 was appointed Deputy Chief of General Staff (Administration), an appointment which he still holds as a major-general.

A very well-educated Muslim, strongly religious and nationalistic in the best sense of the word. Quiet, pleasant but very shrewd. Very co-operative and friendly towards individual British officers. It is unlikely that he could compete with the rigours of an active command.

Dislikes discussing political matters. Speaks fluent English.

#### 60. Hikmat Sulaiman

Sunni, born 1886. A member of the Committee of Union and Progress, he was Director of Education and Assistant Governor of Bagdad under the Turks, and was in Constantinople when the British forces occupied Bagdad in 1917.

Returning to Iraq in 1921 he became Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs in 1923 and was Minister of Interior under Abdul Muhsin Sa'dun (1925-26) and again under Rashid Ali Gailani in 1933. He visited Turkey in 1935 and was much impressed with modern Turkish methods.

In 1936 he joined Bekr Sidqi in the *coup d'état* which over-threw Yasin al Hashimi's Government, and became Prime Minister. He resigned in 1937 after the murder of Bekr Sidqi. As Prime Minister he disappointed expectations.

Although apparently reconciled with Nuri Said in 1938, he was arrested and tried by court martial for treason under the latter's premiership in 1939. The death sentence passed on him was commuted to five years' imprisonment, and he was interned in Sulaimaniya. Released by Rashid Ali in April 1941, he was in Persia during Rashid Ali's rebellion.

When he returned to Iraq he devoted himself to farming and prospered. Unpopular with the Regent and Nuri Said, he took little part in politics until 1947, when he was involved in the intrigues which culminated in the fall of Saleh Jabr and the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948. Since then he has often been reported to be making contact with discontented army officers and people of the Left, and is generally regarded as the "dark horse" of Iraqi politics; but this impression is probably coloured by his history and is an exaggeration of his present influence. He had a heart attack in 1949 and is



unlikely to play any great political part again though he frequently gives advice to Nuri Said. He was appointed a member of the Regency Council in April 1952 and in 1953 and 1954. Was the only member of the Regency Council in 1954 who opposed taking firm measures to deal with possible demonstrations against Iraqi acceptance of United States military aid, and, after this, used all his influence to further the candidature of Kamil Chadirchi (q.v.) in the elections of June 1954. This attitude, which implied support for the Communists with whom Chadirchi was allied, was not dictated by any liking for communism but partly from a sense of grievance at his own lack of political success (he undoubtedly thinks he might have been President of Iraq if the British had not imposed the Hashimite monarchy) and partly from a failure to understand the full impact of communism. He is a friend of Chadirchi's family and lives in the past—as well he might, since he is the youngest and last-surviving son of a great family—his eldest brother having been born in 1834! He shows considerable friendship to Her Majesty's Embassy despite his inability to converse in any language but Turkish and Arabic. His wife, a Daghestani, is a sister of the wife of Najib al Rawi (q.v.). She also is friendly but speaks Turkish only.

#### 61. Husamuddin Jumaa

Born 1899. Sunni. Officer in the Turkish Army during the first World War. After the war entered the Police Department in Bagdad and was appointed Commandant of Police in 1932. Mutasarrif of Kirkuk in 1937, and later of Diwaniya. From 1939 to June 1941 he was Director-General of Police. Although he was much criticised for his behaviour during the Rashid Ali rebellion in May 1941 he was not punished and was appointed Mutasarrif of Mosul at the end of 1941. Between 1942 and December 1944 he held various appointments, including those of Director-General of Supplies and of Revenues. From December 1944 to 1946 he was Mayor of Bagdad, and was then transferred as Mutasarrif to Basra but resigned. Elected deputy for Diyala in 1948. Appointed Minister of Defence in the Cabinet formed by Mustafa al Umari in July 1952. Just before the riots in November he became Acting Minister of the Interior. He resigned with Mustafa al Umari when the riots began. Elected Deputy for Diyala in January 1953. Minister of the Interior under Jamil Madfai in January 1953. Elected Deputy for Bagdad, September 1954. A wealthy man, he is a close friend of Mustafa al Umari. In appearance he is impressive but in performance undistinguished, and he finds difficulty in co-operating with his colleagues. He speaks no English.

#### 62. Hussain Jamil

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1906. A member of the Jamil family which has marriage connexions with the Suweidis. His father was a judge. Educated at Bagdad and graduated from the Law College in 1930.

From 1933 to 1946 he served as a judge in a number of provinces including Diyala, Diwaniya, Hilla and Bagdad.

He resigned from the Public Service in 1946 in order to become a founder member of the National Democratic Party; he went into private practice as a lawyer and acted as defence counsel in a number of cases concerned with political offences.

Deputy for Bagdad, 1948. He resigned with the opposition Deputies in March 1950. Minister of Justice in Ali Jawdat's Cabinet of December 1949 to February 1950. Arrested after the disorders in November 1952. Elected president of the Bar Association, August 1953, October 1954 and August

1955, and Secretary-General of the National Democratic Party in November 1953. Elected Deputy for Bagdad, unopposed, in June 1954. Not re-elected in September 1954.

Hussain is a convinced Democrat and a sincere reformer who is generally respected. He is a poor man and free from suspicion of corruption. He is less intransigent than most of the opposition leaders and is not always in agreement with the leader of his party. In the autumn of 1953 he quite gratuitously telegraphed an offer to defend Dr. Musaddiq in the Persian courts and he persists in regarding him (despite ample evidence to the contrary) as a great democrat and patriot. He dislikes Americans. He speaks some English and his wife, who appears in mixed society, is fairly fluent. At the present moment he shuns British society.

#### 63. Ibrahim Akif al Alusi

Sunni, born Bagdad, 1894. Graduated from Istanbul Medical College in 1916 and served in Iraq under the Turks.

He later joined the Iraqi Health Service and rose to be Director-General of Public Health in 1939. He was also Secretary-General of the Iraqi Red Crescent Society for some time.

Minister of Education under Hamdi Pachachi, 1944-45. Appointed Director-General of Social Affairs in 1946; Minister in Damascus, December 1948; Minister in Ankara, February 1950; Ambassador there, 1953.

As Minister of Education he was incompetent and prejudiced, and it is generally considered that he was not a success in Damascus. Superficially friendly, he is a born intriguer.

#### 64. Ismail Safwat

Sunni of Mosul, born 1894. In Turkish times he graduated from the Teachers' Training School, and was a teacher in 1914. He was conscripted and served as a warrant officer in Eastern Anatolia during the first world war. In 1919 he joined the Arab army at Deir el Zor and took part in Jamil Madfai's advance on Tel 'Afar in 1920. After the collapse of Faisal's régime in Syria he went to Turkey.

He came to Iraq in 1922 and joined the Iraqi army. He was on Bekr Sidqi's staff at the time of the latter's *coup d'état* in 1936. From 1940 to 1943 he headed the Iraqi Military Mission to the Yemen. After his return to Iraq he held several brigade commands. Director of Military Operations, Ministry of Defence, 1944. Promoted Major-General, 1946.

In October 1947 he presided over the Arab League Military Committee which sat at Aley Lebanon. Appointed Deputy C.G.S. early in 1948, he was made Commander of the Irregular Arab Army of liberation on the outbreak of hostilities in Palestine in May 1948. He returned to Iraq and was appointed G.O.C., Second Division, Kirkuk, in 1949. In the autumn of 1950 he became Deputy Chief of the General Staff on the revival of that appointment. In June 1952 was appointed director-general of the Iraq State Railways. In the spring of 1953 he quarrelled with Abdul Wahab Murjan and went on leave but returned shortly after. Left the railways in June 1955 and was returned unopposed as Deputy for Mosul.

He is a taciturn man with no sense of humour, but he has a reputation for efficiency and for being a good disciplinarian. He has been reported as interested in politics, and he is a close friend and supporter of Jamil Madfai and Ali Jawdat who are also both from Mosul.

#### 65. Jalal Baban

Kurd of the Baban family, born 1892. At first an extreme nationalist, he was deported in 1920 but

released in 1921. Appointed Qaimmaqam in 1923 and later promoted to be Mutasarrif, he served in the administration until 1932.

Minister of Economics and Communications under Naji Shaukat in 1932, of Defence under Rashid Ali in 1933, and of Education under Jamil Madfai in 1934. Director-General of Finance 1934-35 and 1936-37.

Minister of Communications and Works under Nuri Said 1939-40 and under Jamil Madfai in 1941. Minister of Finance under Nuri Said in 1943. Senator 1937-43.

Again appointed Minister of Communications and Works under Mohammed al Sadr in January 1948, he managed to retain his portfolio in the succeeding Governments of Muzahim al Pachachi and Nuri Said until November 1949. Deputy for Diyala in the 1948 elections. Resigned his seat on his appointment as a Member of the Development Board.

No man is better versed than Jalal in the art of government as practised in Iraq. Like his distant cousin Jamal Baban (q.v.), he has been the Kurd in many Governments, though neither he nor Jamal can speak Kurdish nor have any special interest in Kurdistan. An unusually competent but elusive Minister, he is undoubtedly corrupt, but except in 1938 has managed to avoid open scandal.

#### 66. Jamal Baban

A Kurdish lawyer of the Baban family, born 1890. After serving for some time as a judge in Northern Iraq he became Deputy for Erbil in 1928.

Minister of Justice under Nuri Said 1930-32, under Jamil Madfai 1933-34, and under Ali Jawdat 1934-35. In 1935 he joined the party organised by Jamil Madfai to oppose Yasin al Hashimi.

Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1941-42 and of Justice under Saleh Jabr in 1947. Between his ministerial appointments he practised as a lawyer, and was often Deputy. Appointed Senator in July 1947. Minister of Justice under Mustafa al Umari, July 1952. His lenient treatment of the Communists during the autumn of 1952 gravely weakened the Government's authority.

Like his relative Jalal Baban (q.v.), he has been almost a professional Kurdish Minister. As Minister under Saleh Jabr he was criticised for venality and for influencing judges. He was Acting Prime Minister during Saleh Jabr's absence in London for the signature of the Portsmouth Treaty, and his handling of the situation caused by the demonstration was inept; but in his defence it must be said that Saleh Jabr had kept him in the dark over the course of the negotiations. He resigned with two other Ministers before Saleh Jabr himself gave up hope, and has not been very active since. He is critical of the measures taken against Iraqi Jews in 1950 and 1951. He is a champion of the cause of the emancipation of women. An attractive but weak man.

#### 67. Jamal Umar Nadhmi

Kurd, born in 1912. Son of Umar Nadhmi (q.v.). Studied at the American University of Beirut.

After serving in the Northern liwas and in Diyala he was appointed Mutasarrif of Basra in July 1949. Deputy for Rania, January 1953. Re-elected 1954.

Energetic and respected by the local officials and fond of social life. He has a good name for honesty. Intelligent but easily excited and violently anti-Jewish. He has no particular political affiliations but he is thought to have prospects as an Iraqi diplomatic representative abroad. He speaks excellent English. His wife is a daughter of Rauf al Kubaisi.

He was exceedingly helpful during the Abadan crisis and gave every possible help and facility to

our evacuees. Under a bumbling exterior conceals unexpected ability and enjoys respect.

#### 68. Jamil Abdul Wahhab

Sunni of Bagdad. Born 1910 of a middle-class family. Educated at Bagdad Law College and practised for a short time.

Joined Iraqi Government service in 1933, and was appointed Assistant Magistrate, Bagdad. He was later transferred to Baquba.

Deputy for Diyala in 1939 and Bagdad in 1943 and 1947. He lost his seat in 1948, but became Deputy for Mahmudiyah in 1950. A member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party from its foundation in 1949.

Minister for Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1946, and under Saleh Jabr 1947. Appointed Minister of Justice in Nuri's Cabinet in July 1951. Deputy for Bagdad, January 1953. Deputy for Kut, 1954 and for Bagdad, September 1954. Deputed from Parliament as Ambassador to the Lebanon for a period of two years in June 1955.

His marriage in 1933 to a niece of Nuri Said is the main reason for his political advancement. In spite of this connexion, his attitude during the Rashid Ali rebellion was ambiguous. He is a personal friend of the Crown Prince and Shakir al Wadi, and in April 1949 was selected as Iraqi Minister at Cairo. The Egyptian Government, however, refused the *agrément*. He is reported to have engaged in doubtful land transactions in Hilla liwa and he is said to be dissolute, ambitious and untrustworthy but nevertheless makes a superficially pleasant impression. He speaks a little English.

#### 69. Jamil Madfai

Sunni of Mosul, born about 1886. Educated Istanbul and gazetted an officer in the Turkish Army. He joined the Arab revolt and in 1920 was commanding the Sharifian forces at Deir el Zor. In that year he instigated the murder of the British Political Officer and entered Tel Afar, calling upon the tribes to rise against the British in the name of the Sharif. He retired to Syria when British troops approached from Mosul.

Returned to Iraq in 1923 and served as Mutasarrif in several liwas.

Deputy from 1929 and President of the Chamber from 1932 to 1933; Senator from 1935 to 1945 and again from 1948 onwards. President of the Senate 1943, 1949, 1950 and 1951.

Minister of Interior under Nuri Pasha 1930; Prime Minister 1933 and again in 1934 with a different Cabinet. Minister of Defence under Ali Jaudat, August 1934; Prime Minister again for twelve days in March 1935, after which he was forced to resign by an agitation in the Middle Euphrates organised by Yasin Pasha al Hashimi. He refused an invitation to join the Government formed by Hikmat Sulaiman after the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'état* in 1936. He visited the Yemen in the winter of 1936-37 to obtain the Imam's adherence to the Iraqi-Saudi pact of Arab Brotherhood. Became Prime Minister again in August 1937 after the murder of Bekr Sidqi and Hikmat Sulaiman's resignation. He was forced to resign in December 1938 by a military demonstration organised in favour of Nuri Said. He accompanied the Regent on his flight to Palestine during the Rashid Ali rebellion in 1941 and after its collapse became Prime Minister for a short time. In 1943 at the suggestion of Nuri Pasha, he toured the Arab countries to canvass support for Arab unity. In 1948 after the riots against the Portsmouth Treaty he took the portfolio of Interior under Muhammad al Sadr for a few months. In 1949 he was sent by Nuri Said to various Arab capitals in an attempt to unify Arab policy towards Palestine. Accompanied the Regent



on the latter's official visits to Spain in May 1952 and to Amman in May 1953. When disorders broke out in November 1952 and Mustafa al Umari's Government resigned, the Regent called on him to form a Cabinet. He failed to do so but became Prime Minister after the elections in January 1953. He resigned when King Faisal II acceded to the throne and was reappointed in May 1953, resigning in September 1953. He refused to be a member of the Regency Council in 1954 because he would not accept Muhammad al Sadr as its chairman. Was member of Regency Council during the King's visit to Jordan in April 1955.

Jamil Madfai is said to have been energetic and resolute in his earlier years. He is popular in most political circles and his influence, which is generally used on the side of moderation, is still considerable, but he is an ageing man, susceptible to the intervention of others and afraid of making enemies. He is unlikely to take any further political part except as a figurehead, but he is said to have influenced Nuri Said against Saleh Jabr. His acquisitions of land and commercial interests have made him a rich man. He speaks no English.

#### 70. Jamil al Urfali

Born about 1907, of a long-established Bagdad family. Sunni. Educated at Bagdad Law College, whence he graduated in 1930, and studied for a short time at the London School of Economics. On his return he edited a weekly legal journal. He joined the Iraqi Judicial Service 1933 and served as a Judge in Hilla, Diwaniya, Nasiriya and later as Chief Magistrate and President of the Execution Department, Bagdad.

Deputy for Diyala 1947, 1953 and again in 1954. Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies 1949 and 1953. Founder-member and member of the Central Committee of Nuri Said's Constitutional Unity Party, December 1949. Minister without Portfolio in charge of Awaq Affairs under Taufiq Suweidi, 1950. Minister of Justice in Dr. Jamali's first Government, September 1953, and Minister of Education in his second, March 1954.

He is a protégé of Ahmad Mukhtar Baban, without much personal influence. He speaks very little English.

#### 71. Jussam Muhammad Shahr (Colonel)

Sunni Muslim, in his late thirties. Has for many years been pilot to the Royal Family and, as such, has travelled extensively. Was appointed to the Command of the Tactical Air Forces in November 1954, since when he has done much to improve the R.I.A.F. In this capacity he took an active part in negotiations for the Anglo-Iraqi Agreement of April 1955.

A lively and very pleasant personality with excellent English.

#### 72. Kadhim Abadi (Brigadier)

A Shia Muslim of the Bani Lam. Entirely at home in a Western atmosphere, he has well assimilated an R.A.F. background. He commanded his squadron efficiently and, in November 1954, was appointed to the command of the R.I.A.F. In this capacity he took an active part in negotiations for the Anglo-Iraqi Agreement of April 1955. He was promoted brigadier in May 1955, despite the fact that he is not staff trained.

He is definitely most anxious to retain the British influence and system in the Iraqi Air Force.

#### 73. Kamil al Chadirchi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1901. Half-brother of Rauf Chadirchi (q.v.). His father was exiled in 1920 and he accompanied him to Istanbul where he studied medicine for a year.

On returning to Iraq he studied law and graduated from the Bagdad Law College in about 1925, when he was appointed to a minor position in the Ministry of Finance. Became Private Secretary to Yasin al Hashimi in 1929, and left official employment soon after to edit *Al Ikha al Watani*, the organ of Yasin Pasha's party of that name. In the early 30's he was associated with the Ahali group with Mohammed Hadid, Abdul Fettah Ibrahim and Abdul Qadir Ismail and started the newspaper *Saut al Ahali*, which has continued with some interruption and changes of name ever since. He was convicted under the Press Law in 1934 and arrested in the same year for publishing pamphlets against King Ghazi but released for lack of evidence.

The Ahali group was privy to the Bekr Sidqi coup d'Etat against Yasin al Hashimi in 1936 and Kamil became Minister of Economics and Commerce in the Cabinet formed by Hikmet Sulaiman. He resigned in June 1937 because of the increasing influence of the Army. He later formed the Democratic Party with Mohammed Hadid, Majid Mustafa and Hikmet Sulaiman which had little success. He refused to enter Nuri Said's Cabinet in 1943. In 1946 he formed the National Democratic Party, which voluntarily suspended activity in 1948, but resumed in 1950. Both in 1946 and 1947 he was prosecuted on Press Law charges. He took a leading part in the agitation which led to the 1952 riots. He was interned for six weeks. Elected Deputy for Bagdad June 1954 with the help of Hikmat Sulaiman and other friends of his family. He headed the "National Front," composed of the National Democratic Party, the Istiqlal Party and Peace Partisans with various fellow-travellers. Despite the fact that they only secured some ten seats in the Chamber, the National Front achieved a resounding propaganda success, conducting their election campaign with a thoroughness and efficiency which was a new feature in Iraqi politics.

Kamil is a muddle-headed idealist who holds progressive social democratic views with complete sincerity, but he is incapable of translating these views into a consistent policy suitable to Iraqi conditions. The poor success of the National Democratic Party in the past is largely due to his lack of leadership and organising ability. He is an unrelenting opponent of Nuri Said. He is known to have been in contact with the Soviet Legation in 1951 and 1952.

Formerly a rich landlord, he has now sold much of his land and is no longer wealthy. He speaks very little English.

#### 74. Khalil Ismail

Bagdad Sunni, of an obscure family of Indian origin. Born 1903. Educated at the Bagdad Law College, he held various positions in the Ministry of Interior from 1925 to 1932.

Secretary of the Cabinet 1932-35. Appointed Director-General of Interior 1935; of Education 1936; for Foreign Affairs 1937. Mutasarrif of Amara 1937-38.

Appointed Director-General of Interior 1938; of Awaq 1940; of Census 1941; of Revenues 1942; of Finance 1943; and of Customs and Excise 1945.

In November 1948 he was made Under-Secretary in charge of the Ministry of Finance during Muzahim al Pachachi's Government. In January 1949 he became Minister of Finance under Nuri Said and held this post until the whole Cabinet resigned in autumn 1949. He became Deputy for Amara in a by-election in March 1949.

A competent though ponderous official of the old school. While Minister of Finance he gave the appearance of being friendly and co-operative, but his habit of distorting facts was apt to lead to difficulties.

Both during and after his period of office he was widely accused of corruption on a large scale. Speaks excellent English and prides himself on his legal knowledge. His daughter appears modestly in mixed society.

#### 75. Khalil Jamil (Major-General)

Sunni Muslim from Mosul. An engineer officer who was trained at R.M.A., Woolwich, in 1935, and at Chatham. Has been chief engineer for at least five years and was promoted major-general in December 1954. He played a major and successful role in the flood control operations of April-May 1954 in the Bagdad area.

Pro-British, energetic and essentially cheerful. Anxious to keep abreast with British engineering doctrine, though not well equipped to train sappers for their role in the field. Speaks good English. Outside interests tend to detract from his value as chief engineer. Is popular with the Germans whose machinery he buys as it is cheaper than British.

#### 76. Khalil Kanna

Sunni, born in Felluja about 1905. His family is of Turkoman origin. Educated at the American University of Beirut, and the Bagdad Law College, he entered Government service in 1933 and worked mainly in the Ministry of Communications and Works until 1941, when he supported Rashid Ali Gailani's coup d'Etat and was consequently interned.

In 1946 he was a founder-member of the Istiqlal Party, but he resigned from the Party with a flourish in 1947 and married a daughter of Ali Ridha al Askeri, thus becoming a relative of Nuri Said. Elected Deputy for the Dulaim in 1947, he was not returned in the 1948 elections. Deputy for Dulaim in by-elections of June 1950.

In January 1949 he started the newspaper *Al Ahd*, which was Nuri Said's mouthpiece. In December 1949 he became a founder-member of Nuri's Constitutional Union Party and was elected to its Central Committee.

Appointed Minister without Portfolio in Tawfiq Suweidi's Government in February 1950 to supervise press and propaganda affairs.

Appointed Minister of Education under Nuri Said in September 1950. His success in this post has largely re-established his political reputation. He represented Iraq at the U.N.E.S.C.O. Conference in Geneva in June 1951. He visited the United Kingdom in the same year.

Elected Deputy for Falluja, January 1953. Re-elected June and September 1954. Minister of Education under Jamil Madfai, January and May 1953. Acted as Foreign Minister in August 1953 during absence of Taufiq al Suwaidi in Cairo.

Minister of Education under Nuri Said, August 1954.

Led Constitutional Union Party Deputies during Dr. Jamali's Governments and failed to give him the unconditional parliamentary support promised by Nuri al Said.

A fervent Sunni and deeply distrusted by the Shias. A bitter opponent of Saleh Jabr and his party. He is a not very approachable personality, cold with strangers and slightly abrupt. Is, nevertheless, a competent Minister who gets on well with the British Council representative. He speaks good English. His young wife speaks some English.

#### 77. Mahmud I Shaikh Said (Shaikh)

Kurd of the family of Barzinja Sayyids. Born 1884. He inherited from his father considerable religious and tribal influence and a tradition of opposition to central authority. In Ottoman times he was notorious for his oppression and rapacity.

He was appointed Hukumdar of Sulaimaniya and given British advisers in December 1918. In June 1919 he attempted to throw off British control but was defeated, wounded and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted and he was imprisoned in India. He was again appointed Hukumdar in August 1922 but soon began to try to extend his personal power. He was summoned to Bagdad in February 1923 but took to the mountains with his personal following and remained an embarrassment to the authorities until his surrender in 1930. From 1931 to 1941 he was in forced residence at Nasiriya, Ramadi and Bagdad.

In 1941 he escaped to Kurdistan and prepared to oppose Rashid Ali's unconstitutional Government by force. Since the collapse of Rashid Ali's rebellion he has lived in semi-retirement at Dari Keli in Barsian near Sulaimaniya.

He is still very influential in Sulaimaniya and causes the local authorities some trouble. Despite his age he has recently been involved in a fracas with the authorities due to his tribal desire to harbour criminals who had sought asylum with him. He hates all Arabs and holds the Bagdad Government in contempt. He has three sons, Raouf, Baba Ali (q.v.) and Latif. He speaks Turkish and Arabic in addition to Kurdish.

#### 78. Majid Mustafa

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born about 1895. An officer in the Turkish Army during the First World War, he remained pro-Turkish for some time and later became an active supporter of Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.).

Appointed Mudir Nahiya 1927; Qaimmaqam 1928-35; Mutasarrif 1935-41; he was an able administrator.

His attitude during Rashid Ali's rebellion in 1941 was equivocal, and he forfeited the trust of both sides. On the Regent's return to Bagdad he was suspended for four years for having complied with Rashid Ali's orders.

Nevertheless in December 1943 the Regent reluctantly agreed to his appointment as Minister without Portfolio to advise on Kurdish affairs in Nuri Said's Government. He achieved a peaceful settlement with Mulla Mustafa of Barzan in January 1944, but resigned with the whole Cabinet in June 1944.

Appointed Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri Said in September 1950 and elected Deputy for Erbil in November 1950. Minister of Social Affairs under Mustafa al Umari July 1952 and under Nuruddin Mahmud November 1952. Resigned in December 1952. Deputy for Sulaimaniya January 1953. Re-elected June 1954 largely through Government intervention in the elections, but not in September 1954. Minister of Social Affairs under Jamil Madfai, January and May 1953.

Although he is a Kurd first and an Iraqi afterwards, Majid proved an able Minister. He sought the assistance of this embassy on numerous occasions in connexion with the reorganisation of his Ministry. In the summer of 1951 he was given a tour of social services in the United Kingdom by the British Council and returned an enthusiastic admirer of Britain and with a much improved knowledge of English. Subsequently, however, the apathy of other members of the Cabinet to his ideas of social reform discouraged him, and, with the resignation of Jamil Madfai's Government, returned to his large and successful business interests which include a marble quarry in Rowanduz.

#### 79. Mar Shimun (His Beatitude)

Eshai Mar Shimun XXIIIrd, Patriarch of the Assyrians. Born about 1909, he succeeded to the patriarchate in 1920 when a child. Educated in England at a seminary in Canterbury.



After his return to Iraq he inspired the mutiny of the Assyrian Levies in 1932 and the exodus of the Assyrians to Syria in 1933 which precipitated the massacres in Mosul liwa of that year. He was deported in 1933 and given asylum in Cyprus. He spent the next seven years in Europe, mostly in England and Geneva, trying to obtain assistance for his people. Granted British naturalisation in 1939 and went to Cyprus, but in 1940 he went to America and has since been living in Chicago, taking a full part in intrigues which split the Assyrians both inside and outside Iraq.

Mar Shimun's aim was to establish the whole Assyrian community in a compact enclave under his own spiritual and temporal authority. His political inexperience and overweening ambitions caused his people much needless suffering.

#### 80. Mudhaffar Ahmad, O.B.E.

Sunni, born in Hilla in 1899. Educated in Baghdad, he was an officer in the Turkish army.

Gazetted Assistant Commandant of Police in 1921, he was promoted Commandant in 1932. After a course at the Birmingham City Police School he was appointed principal of the Inspectors' Training School and thereafter held several appointments on the headquarters staff of the police. As Director of the C.I.D. after Rashid Ali's rebellion he enforced energetic anti-Nazi measures. His reputation in the police was high.

Director-General of Civil Defence 1941-43; Mutasarrif of Ramadi 1943; Basra 1944-45; Mosul 1946; Baghdad 1946-48. He was allotted some of the blame for police action against the January 1948 demonstrations and was removed to the Administrative Inspectorate in March 1948. He was appointed Mayor of Baghdad in 1949, and in 1950 refused the Directorate-General of Police in succession to Ali Hejazi (q.v.). Director-General of the Date Association, 1951. Mutasarrif of Basra, February 1953. Placed on pension in January 1955 as a result of corrupt practices in Basra.

Appointed Honorary O.B.E. for war services 1946.

He is a polished and popular man and a keen sportsman. He is related through his mother to Nuri Said and to the Askari family, and his wife, who appears in public, is a Partow. He and his wife speak good English and Turkish and some French.

#### 81. Muhammad Ali al Chelabi

Shia of Kadhimain, born about 1910. Brother of Abdul Hadi Chelabi (q.v.). In 1933, after studying at the American University of Beirut, he went to London to study economics. In 1938, was given a post in the Agricultural and Industrial Bank. In 1941 he was transferred to the newly-opened Rafidain Bank in Baghdad, of which he was appointed director in 1945.

He speaks good English and is married to a decorative Syrian who speaks good French.

An able but somehow rather unattractive character.

#### 82. Muhammad Ali Mahmud

Sunni of Baghdad, born 1895. Educated Baghdad Law School and employed in the Ministry of Justice, in which he rose to become Director-General. He also held post of Director-General Tapu and in 1935 was a member of the Court of Cassation.

Deputy for Diyala in the Parliament of 1935 and for Erbil in those of 1936 and 1937. Minister of Finance in Hikmat Sulaiman's re-formed Cabinet of 1937.

He was Minister of Communications and Works in Rashid Ali's unconstitutional Cabinet of April 1941. On its collapse he fled to Persia but was handed over

to the British in September 1941. He was interned in Rhodesia and sent back to Iraq in 1944, where he was tried and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, but released in 1947. He was elected Deputy for Koy Sanjaq in November 1950.

His daughter is married to a son of Ja'far al Askari and probably because of this connexion he joined Nuri Pasha's constitutional party in 1949. Elected to the Central Committee of the Party in November 1950. Minister of Justice under Jamil Madfai May 1953. Appointed Deputy Prime Minister in Dr. Jamali's first Government September 1953 and Minister of Justice in his second, March 1954. He was appointed a Senator in March 1954. Appointed Minister of Justice under Nuri in August 1954 and has served as Acting Prime Minister and Acting Minister of Defence in Nuri's absence.

A pleasant man with moderate ability and drive. He was given the post of Acting Minister of Development in April 1955 by Nuri in the hope that he would pull that Department together. He is a nationalist and a stubborn defender in negotiations of what he believes to be Iraqi interests. Speaks Turkish and more English than he admits to.

#### 83. Muhammad Hassan Kubba

Shia of Baghdad, born 1891 and educated locally. In 1913 he became a teacher of Arabic at the German School in Baghdad. After the occupation he set up in commerce in a small way. He entered the Law School in 1920 and as a student was associated with the nationalist activities of Jafar Abu Timman. He graduated in 1923 and joined Government service. Judge at Suwaira 1927, at Kadhimain 1931; legal draftsman in the Ministry of Justice 1938.

Deputy 1944 and President of the Chamber 1947. Senator from July 1947 and Vice-President of the Senate December 1947. Minister for Social Affairs under Nuri Said 1943, he retained this portfolio in the succeeding Government of Hamdi Pachachi, but resigned to become President of the Chamber. Minister of Justice under Arshad al Umari 1946 and again in 1948 under Muzahim al Pachachi. Minister of Justice under Nuri Said January 1949. Minister without Portfolio in Nuri Said's cabinet in December 1950. Appointed Acting Minister of Health in April 1952.

A weak individual who would never have become a Minister had he been born a Sunni. He wished to resign from Arshad's Cabinet in 1946 owing to the Prime Minister's interference with the courts, but a word from the Regent restrained him. He is pleasant and friendly and proud of his erudition in Shariya law. He speaks no English.

#### 84. Muhammad Hassan Salman (Dr.)

Shia of Baghdad, born 1908. Was a teacher in Government primary schools. Entered the Iraqi Medical College, graduated as a doctor in 1934 and joined the Iraqi Medical Service. Member of the Muthanna Club. Appointed Chief Medical Officer of Health at the Ministry of Education in Rashid Ali's rebel Government, but after only one day in office he left for Turkey to undergo medical treatment. Returned to Baghdad after the war and re-joined the Iraqi Health Service as a Chief Medical Officer. Appointed Director of Amir Abdul Ilah Hospital for Chest Diseases at Tuwaitha in April 1951. Elected Deputy for Amara in January 1953 and again in June and September 1954. Became Minister of Health under Jamil al Madfai in January 1953. Remained Minister of Health on re-formation of Jamil al Madfai's Cabinet in May 1953, and was again appointed Minister of Health under Nuri Said in August 1954. In this capacity he has brought back into authority many doctors

who supported Rashid Ali. He is reported to be corrupt. He speaks some English.

#### 85. Muhammad Hadid

Sunni, born 1906 of a merchant family of Mosul. Educated at American University, Beirut, 1924 to 1928, and London School of Economics 1928 to 1931.

Employed in the Ministry of Finance 1931 to 1937; Deputy for Mosul 1937; Minister of Supply under Nuri Pasha in 1946, he resigned from this Government in protest against Government interference in the elections.

He was a prominent member of the so-called Ahali Group in the first half of the 1930's. This group advocated a mild form of socialism. Some of its members later became Communists. In the later '30s he was associated with Kamil Chaderchi's Democratic Party and was one of the founder members of the National Democratic Party in 1946. He is Vice-President of this party which suspended activity in 1948 but resumed in 1950. He resigned his seat in the Chamber in 1950 with the rest of the opposition deputies in protest against the intolerance of the Government and of Nuri Said's majority party. Visited the United Kingdom in 1951, 1952 and 1953. He was in London at the time of the 1952 disorders. Letters of his criticising the "Old Guard" at that time were published in *The Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*. Re-elected Vice-President of the National Democratic Party November 1953. Elected Deputy for Mosul in the National Front June 1954.

Not elected in September 1954 when the National Democratic Party boycotted the elections.

Apart from his political activities, he has large business interests and is a partner with Kamil Khedairi in a flourishing soap business which exports to India and Egypt.

Mohammed Hadid is an intelligent and sincere democrat, an effective speaker and a persuasive writer, but he has not made the intellectual effort required to transform the ideas he learned at the London School of Economics into a suitable policy for Iraq. Although a nationalist and a critic of British influence in Iraq, he is friendly to us and has a number of British friends. He dislikes Americans. He speaks excellent English.

#### 86. Muhammad Mahdi al Jawahiri

A Shia born at Nejaf in 1901. At one time he was employed by the Ministry of Education, but was removed from service prior to Bakr Sidqi's *coup d'Etat* in 1936. He has long been associated with various Left-wing newspapers, but is best known as a poet for which he has a considerable reputation throughout the Arab-speaking world. He has published two volumes of his works, and is at present working on the publication of a further two volumes, for which he received a grant from the Ministry of Education of £300 early in 1952.

He is a man of pronounced Left-wing views, but although he is ideologically a Marxist he is not an activist.

He has been prominently connected with the "Peace" movement in Iraq, and in November 1950 was elected as a member of the World Peace Council at the Second World Peace Congress, held in Warsaw in November 1950. In May 1951 he left Iraq for Egypt and is known to have attended a meeting of the Peace Council at Vienna before returning to Iraq in November 1951.

For this reason he has been severely criticised by leading Left-wing persons, and it has been alleged that the grant he received from the Ministry of Education for publishing his poetical works was the price of his silence. He was arrested after the riots in November 1952. Since his release he appears to have abandoned his Left-wing activities. He

recited a poem in praise of the monarchy during the celebrations at King Faisal II's accession. Contested the 1954 elections but withdrew.

In January 1951 he became chief editor of a new Left-wing newspaper, *Al Thabat*, until its suppression by the Government in April 1952. He then became owner and editor of another new Left-wing daily newspaper, *Al Jihad*. This was suspended in November 1952. In 1953 he began publishing a new newspaper, *Al Jadid*.

In 1951 he became chief editor of a Left-wing newspaper *Al Jihad*, which was suppressed after a year. He then became owner and editor of a new Left-wing paper *Al Thabat* which lasted only four months. His most recent essay in journalism, *Al Rai al 'Am*, lasted from 1953 until November 1954, when he failed to qualify for renewal of his license under the new press law. He continues to operate a printing press and to cultivate in the Amara province a plot of land presented to him by the Jamali Government in 1953.

#### 87. Muhammad Mahdi Kubba

Born about 1900 of the well-known Baghdad Shia family of Kubba, he was educated in the religious seminary at Najaf in Grammar, Persian and theology.

After the First World War he engaged in quite a humble way in the textile trade in common with other members of his family. He never held Government office of any kind until 1948, although he was once a Deputy for Baghdad in 1937.

He was a member of the Nationalist Muthanna Club from its foundation and was helped into politics by a fellow member Dr. Jamali (q.v.). He developed pro-Axis sympathies during a visit to Germany in the late 30's but took no active part in the Rashid Ali movement.

He was made president of the Istiqlal Party on its formation in 1946, probably owing to his Shia origin, well-known name, and clean record. His voice in its councils is less effective than those of Faiq Samarra and Siddiq Shenshal. Re-elected president of the Istiqlal Party in November 1950, he strongly supported the Persian Government in their efforts to nationalise the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in 1951.

Minister of Supply in the Sadr Cabinet of January 1948, he resigned in June over the conduct of the elections. However, he became Deputy for Baghdad in these elections, but resigned his seat in protest, in common with the rest of the opposition, in March 1950. He was re-elected in the by-elections in June. Resigned with the other Istiqlal Deputies from the Chamber of Deputies in February 1952. He took a prominent part of the agitation which led to the riots in November 1952, after which he was interned.

In November 1953 re-elected President of Istiqlal Party, and in June 1954 was returned unopposed for Baghdad. He took his party into the National Front in the elections of June 1954, collaborating with the National Democratic Party and the Peace Partisans. Though this manoeuvre obtained a measure of success there were indications that he was not altogether happy with all the policies of his associates, particularly the Communist line on "Peace with Israel."

Elected again for Baghdad in September 1954 as an Independent, he later resigned his seat in favour of a nephew.

An untidy looking man, he has a reputation for sobriety and honesty. His enemies accuse him of folly rather than knavery. Intelligent, but not politically astute, he only speaks Arabic and Persian. He is a strong opponent of British "imperialism."

#### 88. Muhammad Ridha Shabibi (Saiyid)

Shia of Nejaf, born 1889. Educated in the religious schools of Nejaf. In 1908 he began to publish poetry



in the Egyptian periodical press and acquired a reputation as a literary man. He played some part in the nationalist disturbances in Nejjaf during the occupation. In 1919 he was sent to the Hejaz by some Iraqi nationalists to offer the Iraqi throne to the Amir Abdullah; thence he went to Syria and did not return to Bagdad until 1921.

He was a member of the Constituent Assembly and was Deputy for Bagdad in most Iraqi Parliaments until 1935. Senator from 1935 to 1943 and President of the Senate for a few months in 1937. He returned to the Lower House in 1943 and was its President in 1943-44. He resigned from Parliament with the Opposition deputies in March 1950. Deputy for Bagdad, January 1953.

In 1951 he played a prominent part in the formation of the United Popular Front and was elected Chairman of the Front's Political Committee. He was offered the Deputy Premiership by Nasrat al Farisi during his abortive attempt to form a Cabinet in January 1953. In November 1953 elected President, United Popular Front, succeeding Taha al Hashimi. Appointed Senator in February 1954.

Minister for Education under Yasin al Hashimi in 1924, he resigned from this Government with Rashid Ali Gailani over the Turkish Petroleum Company concession. Again Minister for Education in 1935 under Yasin al Hashimi, under Jamil Madfai in 1937 and 1941, and under Mohammed al Sadr in 1948.

A genial old bigot whose views on education are strongly reactionary. He is a strong critic of British influence in Iraq, but he is personally friendly to Englishmen. He is on good terms with Nuri al Said. He speaks no English.

#### 89. Muhammad al Sadr (Saiyid)

Shia of Kadhmain, born about 1885. Educated in religious circles at Kadhmain.

He was a strong nationalist in the early days of the British occupation and took an active part in the insurrection of 1920. He fled to Syria after its suppression and returned with King Faisal in June 1921.

Appointed Senator in 1925. He was president of the Senate from 1929 to 1937 and again after a short interval from 1937 to 1943. He was several times a member of the Regency Council during the Regent's and King Faisal II's absences from Iraq. Prime Minister January to June 1948. He administered the oath at King Faisal II's accession. Was elected President of the Senate in December 1953.

Muhammad al Sadr's political importance is due to his religious prestige and his nationalist past. For these reasons he is always consulted at moments of crisis but his weakness, ignorance and incapacity were amply proved by his total failure as Prime Minister to restore normal conditions after the disturbances in Bagdad which removed Saleh Jabr and secured the rejection of the Portsmouth Treaty in January 1948. He speaks no English but does his best to be friendly. His health has much deteriorated and he does not now play an active part in politics.

#### 90. Muhammad Shafiq al 'Ani

Sunni of Ana. Born 1908. Graduate of the Bagdad Law College. Joined Government service in 1933. Served as a judge and in July 1946 became a Judge of a Court of First Instance. In October 1947 became President of the Sunni Sharia Bench of Cassation and in August 1952 Director-General of Auqaf. Minister of State in September 1953 and in temporary charge of the Ministry of Social Affairs in January 1954. Appointed to the Court of Cassation, March 1954. Director-General of Auqaf (religious trusts) in November 1954. A devout Sunni, in close touch with the orthodox religious organisations. Speaks no English.

#### 91. Muhammad Siddiq Shenshal

Sunni, born in Mosul about 1908. Studied law at Bagdad and Damascus. He subsequently studied at the Sorbonne, returning to Iraq in 1939.

After serving as a Legal Adviser to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs he became Director of Propaganda under Rashid Ali in 1941. Although acquitted of the charges brought against him he was interned. In 1946 he took a leading part in the formation of the Istiqlal Party. Resigned with the other Istiqlal Deputies from the Chamber of Deputies in February 1952. Did not contest the 1953 elections. In November 1953 elected Secretary-General of the Istiqlal Party and in June 1954 Deputy for Mosul. He was not re-elected in September 1954.

Sadiq Shenshal is violently anti-British and he keeps up a flow of invective against the British connexion in Parliament and in the press. He is married to a sister of Yunis Sab'awi who was executed for the part he played in the Rashid Ali revolt. Is sometimes called the Iraqi Goebbels; effectively silenced for the time being by the return to power of Nuri al Said.

#### 92. Muhammad Salim al Radhi

Sunni, born Bagdad 1899. He was educated in Bagdad, the American University of Beirut and the Universities of California and Texas, from which he obtained doctorates in Agriculture and Science. Returning to Iraq in 1926 he joined the Department of Agriculture, in which he eventually became, and remained for several years, Director-General.

Director-General of Labour in the Ministry of Social Affairs, 1946. Iraqi Minister in Tehran, 1947-49. Appointed first Iraqi Minister to India, July 1949. Ambassador there, 1953. Ambassador to Lebanon in 1954, and in 1955 returned to Bagdad to serve at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

He is a landowner and is connected with the wealthy Shabandar family. His reputation in the Department of Agriculture was good, but as Minister in Tehran he was not popular with the Persians. Iraqi Shias accuse him of being a fanatical Sunni. He and his attractive wife both speak English well.

#### 93. Mulla Mustafa

Kurdish chieftain of Barzan, born about 1898. Younger brother of Ahmad of Barzan (q.v.). Mulla is a name not a title.

He was the fighting leader of the Barzanis in the troubles of 1931-32, surrendered with Sheikh Ahmad in 1933, and was banished to Sulaimaniya, where he lived for ten years in poverty on a small allowance from the Government.

In 1943 he escaped to Barzan, where he soon became involved in skirmishes with the Iraqi police. At first concerned only with his own position, he later began to pose as a champion of Kurdish nationalism and won much Kurdish sympathy and support. He resisted successfully the forces of police and troops sent against him. In January 1944, a settlement was arranged, and he visited Bagdad to make submission to the Regent. Returning to Barzan, he remained restless, but was formally pardoned in April 1945, when the Iraqi Government announced a programme for improving security and developing agriculture in the Barzan area.

Becoming impatient, he again took up arms against the Government in August 1945. Large Iraqi forces and clever bribery administered by Mustafa al Umari (q.v.) eventually defeated the Barzanis, and he and his brother Ahmed fled to Persia, where they were well received by the Russian authorities.

After the collapse of the Persian Kurdish independence movement led by Qazi Muhammad, Mulla Mustafa and his brother retired before the Persian forces and entered Iraq in May 1947. Sheikh Ahmad surrendered to the Iraqi Government but Mulla

Mustafa refused unconditional surrender and managed to escape with a few hundred men through Turkey and Azerbaijan into the Soviet Union.

At first welcomed by the Russian authorities, but now, it is said, despised, Mulla remains in the U.S.S.R. Popular fear of his eventual return keeps his name alive in Iraq.

#### 94. Musa Shabandar

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1899, the son of a wealthy landowner. His brother Ibrahim is a prominent Bagdad merchant. Educated in Bagdad and in Switzerland, he was in Europe from 1918 to 1932, mostly in Switzerland and Germany.

Joined the Iraqi Foreign Service, 1932; Secretary of Iraqi delegation to the League of Nations, 1933; First Secretary, Berlin, 1935. In 1937 he was accused of giving certificates of export to Iraq for munitions destined for Spain. He was recalled and arrested, but proceedings against him were dropped.

Deputy for Amara 1937 to 1939.

Re-appointed to the Foreign Service 1939 and sent to Berlin as chargé d'affaires. Assistant Director-General in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, October 1939. Minister for Foreign Affairs in the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali in April 1941. He fled to Persia after Rashid Ali's collapse, but was caught and interned in Rhodesia and later sent back to Iraq for trial. He was sentenced in 1944 to five years' imprisonment and sequestration of property. Owing to ill-health he did not serve all his sentence.

He has been free since 1947 and in 1949 he joined Nuri Said's Constitutional Union Party and was appointed Minister at Damascus. Appointed Ambassador in Washington in June 1953. In March 1954 was named as Minister for Foreign Affairs in Jamali's second Cabinet but succeeded in staying in Washington. Returned to Iraq in October 1954 as Minister of Foreign Affairs under Nuri but was again appointed Ambassador to Washington in May 1955.

Musa Shabandar is not a strong personality. He is intelligent and accommodating, an official rather than a politician. He was not a success as Foreign Minister and his failure to take a clear-cut line got the Iraq Government into difficulties with the other Arab Governments on various occasions. He is married to a Lebanese and speaks English, French and German.

#### 95. Mustafa al Umari

Sunni of the Umari family of Mosul. Born in 1893 and educated at the Bagdad Law School, he served as an officer in the Turkish forces in Mesopotamia in the first world war and was taken prisoner.

He entered Government service at the end of the war, served as Qaimmaqam and Mutasarrif in several districts and also held the posts of Accountant-General and Director-General of Interior.

He was Minister of Interior under Hikmat Sulaiman in 1937; under Jamil Madfai, 1937-38 and in 1941; under Hamdi Pachachi, 1944-46 and under Muzahim Pachachi in 1948. He has also been Minister of Justice under Madfai in late 1938, of Economics under Muhammad al Sadr, January-June 1948 (Acting Interior from March 1948 onwards), and without Portfolio under Muzahim at the end of 1948 and under Nuri Said from December 1950. He has been a Senator since 1937. Acting Prime Minister during Nuri Said's absences from Iraq in the first half of 1952, accompanied the Regent to Amman in June 1952. In July he became Prime Minister. He resigned when rioting broke out in November. His term as a Senator expired in 1954 and despite his wire-pulling has not been renewed. He tried to organise a bloc of young Deputies critical of the Government in the 1953 Parliament but it came to

nothing. He pushes his political views through his son-in-law, Ramzi al Umari, Deputy for Mosul.

Of all Iraqi politicians and officials Mustafa is probably the most notorious for corruption. He is also one of the most capable administrators in the country. He may be said to exhibit the best and the worst features of the Ottoman idea of Government. His administration during 1945 and his conduct of the 1948 elections aroused severe criticism, but he served his country well during the Barzani troubles of 1945, when his well-directed bribery was of great assistance to the Iraqi forces operating against Mulla Mustafa. His term as Prime Minister was almost disastrous, however. His unimaginative handling of the Opposition parties' demand for direct elections was one of the causes of the riots in November 1952, and his resignation at the height of the disorders was almost criminally irresponsible. Is slowly on his way out. He speaks only a little English.

#### 96. Muzahim Amin al Pachachi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888. Educated at the Law School in Bagdad and graduated in 1912. Before the 1914 war he was a strong Arab nationalist. He wrote for Arab nationalist papers and had to flee to Basra in 1913 to escape arrest. After the war he was employed as a magistrate by the occupation authorities in Basra and returned to Bagdad in 1922.

He joined Government service in March 1923 and became Minister of Communications and Works under Yasin al Hashimi in 1924. In 1927 he was sent to London as Iraqi Diplomatic Agent, returning in 1928. Minister of Economics and Communications under Nuri Pasha, January 1931, and almost immediately after Minister of Interior in the same Government. He resigned in October 1931 because of differences with his colleagues over his dismissal of the Amin al Asima, Mahmud Subhi Daftari. In May 1932 he was charged with complicity in the circulation of scurrilous letters about the King. He was tried and acquitted in October 1932.

Iraqi Minister at Rome and Permanent Iraqi delegate at Geneva, 1934; Minister at Paris, 1939; he remained there as Minister to the Vichy Government and did not return when Iraq broke off relations in November 1941 but went instead to Rome. In 1944 he went to Geneva and sought facilities to return to Iraq, which were refused. He eventually returned in November 1945.

Prime Minister, June 1948 to January 1949; deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs under Ali Jawdat, December 1949 to February 1950. He was appointed Senator in 1948 but the appointment was held to be constitutionally invalid by a High Court in 1950. He left Iraq for Egypt and Saudi Arabia just before the issue of this decision. He returned to Iraq in November 1950 and took a leading part in the formation of the United Popular Front in May 1951. Resigned from the Front in May 1952.

Muzahim's character presents some contradiction. He is a strong nationalist and resents "imperialism" deeply, but he has been much influenced by the Social Democratic ideas which he has encountered during his prolonged residence in Western Europe. He is often reasonable, but can be stupidly obstinate. Politically courageous at times, at others he gives up without a struggle. His ideas on general policy are sensible, but as a political tactician he is inept. He hates Nuri Pasha and strongly resents his influence with the Crown Prince. This has led him to criticise the latter indiscreetly on occasion. In particular he opposed the methods by which Nuri carried out his rapprochement with Turkey in 1954 and United Kingdom accession to the Iraqi-Turkish Pact in 1955 as policies contrary to Arab unity. He is very deaf. He speaks English.



He has kept in the background during the past years and is still not reconciled with the Crown Prince.

#### 97. Nadhi Shawi

Sunni, originally of the Ubaid tribe. Born Bagdad 1887. Educated at the Military College, Istanbul, and gazetted an officer in the Turkish army in 1909. He served in Syria in the Turkish Coastal Defence forces throughout the first world war. Afterwards he joined King Faisal's army in Syria and fought against the French at Maisaloun in 1920.

After the expulsion of Faisal from Syria he returned to Bagdad and for some years was a secondary school teacher. During this period he graduated from the Bagdad Law School.

He joined the Iraqi army in 1927. In 1935 he attended army manoeuvres in England, and on his return was given command of the Iraqi Staff College. Brigadier and Assistant C.G.S., 1937; retired, 1939.

Minister of Defence under Jamil Madfai, June to October 1941. Deputy for Dulaim, 1943 to 1947. Founder member of Saleh Jabr's Popular Socialist Party, June 1951. He was described as a pleasant but colourless Minister. He plays no further part in politics.

#### 98. Nadim Shakir al Pachachi (Dr.)

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1914. Nephew of the late Hamdi Pachachi and of Muzahim Pachachi (q.v.). Educated at Victoria College, Alexandria and London University.

Returned to Bagdad in 1938 and was appointed to the Ministry of Economics in which he rose to be Director-General by 1944.

He was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the United Nations in 1946 and visited London and America in 1948 to try to obtain support for the proposed Iraqi Oil Refinery at Baiji. Early in 1950 he quarrelled with his Minister, Dhia Jaafar, and tendered his resignation. His resignation was not accepted and he was appointed Director-General of Oil Affairs in June 1950. In this capacity he was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company in the summer and autumn of 1950. In March 1951 he again became Director-General of Economics. He again visited the United Kingdom in connexion with tenders for the oil refinery and the Iraq Government's gold case against the Iraq Petroleum Company. Played a leading part in the negotiations of 1951.

In July 1952 he became Minister of Economics under Mustafa al Umari. Joined Nuruddin Mahmud's Cabinet in the same capacity in December 1952. Minister of State under Jamil Madfai in May 1953. Elected Deputy for Bagdad in January 1953. In July 1953 was appointed Minister of Development in Jamil Madfai's Government. In 1954 he visited the United Kingdom as member of Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation and in June and September 1954, was re-elected Deputy for Bagdad running in double harness with Abdul Karim al Uzri (q.v.). Minister of Economics under Nuri since August 1954.

Nadim has not a very strong personality but he is an exceptionally intelligent and competent official whose rapid rise was not entirely due to the influence of his family. He is friendly and co-operative. In addition to his official position he is a landowner and farmer on a large scale. He divorced his first wife (a Pachachi) in 1947 in order to marry a cabaret artiste. He divorced his second wife in 1950 and married an American girl in 1952. He speaks excellent English.

#### 99. Naji al Asil (Dr.)

Bagdad Sunni, born about 1895. A graduate of the Constantinople Medical School in Ottoman times, he

first became prominent in 1922 as semi-official Hashimite representative in London. After Ibn Saud's conquest of the Hejaz he became destitute and was deported to Iraq in 1925.

Employed in the Iraqi Military Medical Service from 1926, he was appointed Iraqi Consul-General and chargé d'affaires in Jidda in 1931 and transferred to Mohammerah in 1932. Acting Director-General of Foreign Affairs 1933-34; Counsellor in Tehran 1935; Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1936.

Minister for Foreign Affairs under Hikmat Sulaiman 1936-37, he went into retirement after that Cabinet's resignation until 1944, when he was appointed Director-General of Antiquities. Appointed permanent Iraqi delegate to the United Nations Organisation by the Sadr Cabinet in February 1948, he was recalled in June 1948 and returned to the Antiquities Department. Appointed an Active Member of the Iraq Academy in November 1949. He organised the Avicenna Festival in Iraq in March 1952. October 1953 was elected President of Iraq Academy.

A polished and intelligent but ponderous man, he is a close friend of Hikmet Suleiman (q.v.) but is not now on close terms with the active politicians. He began well in the Antiquities Department but later his work was affected by his personal financial difficulties. He speaks English well.

#### 100. Naji Shaukat

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1891, brother of Sami Shaukat (q.v.). Educated Istanbul and became a reserve officer in the Turkish Army. Joined the Arab revolt at Aqaba in 1916.

He returned to Bagdad in 1919 and from 1921 to 1928 was Mutasarrif of various southern liwas, ending with Bagdad 1924-28.

He first became a Deputy in 1929; Minister of Interior under Abdul Muhsin Saadun in 1928 and again in 1929; Iraqi Minister at Ankara 1930-31; Minister of Interior under Nuri Said 1931; Prime Minister 1932; Minister of Interior under Jamil Madfai 1933; again Iraqi Minister at Ankara 1934. In this capacity he accompanied Taufiq Rustu Aras, the then Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, on an official visit to Iraq in 1937. He was then offered a portfolio in the Government of Hikmat Sulaiman, but declined because of his objection to Bekr Sidqi's influence. Minister of Interior under Nuri Said 1938, but resigned in April 1939. Minister of Justice under Rashid Ali March 1940.

After the collapse of France he became a strong advocate of reinsurance with the Axis and, with Rashid Ali's approval, he went to Istanbul in September 1940 to establish contact with the German Ambassador, Herr von Papen. He resigned from the Government in January 1941, but became Minister of Defence in the unconstitutional cabinet formed by Rashid Ali in April 1941. During the Rashid Ali rebellion in May he went to Turkey to try to enlist Turkish support for Rashid Ali's cause, and remained in Turkey after the collapse of the rebellion. He was tried *in absentia* by court martial and sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment. He spent the war years between Berlin and Rome, receiving a Minister's salary from the Reich Government. In the summer of 1945 he was arrested in Italy, sent back to Iraq and imprisoned.

He was pardoned by the Regent in May 1948, but rarely appears in public. He attended the memorial service for King George VI at the Anglican Church in Bagdad.

#### 101. Najib al Rawi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1898; brother of Ahmed al Rawi (q.v.). Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he worked for a short time as a clerk in the

Revenue Department under the British Administration. He has a large practice as a lawyer and was President of the Lawyers' Association in 1942 and again in 1947.

He entered politics as a protégé of Nuri Said in 1930 and was Deputy for Dulaim in the Parliaments of 1930, 1934, 1937, 1943, 1947 and 1948. He resigned his seat with the Opposition Deputies in March 1950.

Minister of Education under Taufiq Suwaidi 1946; Minister of Justice under Mohammed al Sadr in 1948; Minister of Education in the succeeding Governments of Muzahim al Pachachi, Nuri Said and Ali Jaudat, June 1948 to February 1950. He represented Iraq at the Paris Session of U.N.O. in September 1948. Appointed Iraqi Minister in Cairo in August 1950, and Ambassador in November 1952. He has on the whole made a success of his mission to Egypt and successive Governments have been content with him. In January 1954 his term of duty was extended for a further two years.

Politically he is a trimmer and has a foot in several camps, though he is generally regarded as primarily a Palace man. He is friendly to the British connexion but is not altogether trustworthy. He is married to one of the Daghestani sisters and speaks a little English.

#### 102. Najib al Rubaii (Major-General)

A Sunni Muslim of the influential Rubaii family. Brother of Hassib al Rubaii, the Deputy Chief of General Staff (Administration) (q.v.). Admitted Sandhurst in 1928 and is now a major-general in command of the 3rd Cadre Division.

Is a very well educated man, with considerable academic leanings, which he prefers to soldiering. His English is good, though he is too much an Arab to enjoy speaking anything but Arabic. He is very religious and is capable of interfering in politics if his conscience directed such a course.

#### 103. Nasrat al Farisi

Sunni of Bagdad, born about 1890. Educated Bagdad Law School.

He was conscripted for the Turkish Army before he had graduated, and served as a warrant officer during the 1914-18 war in which he saw service against the Russians at Hamadan and against the British at Kut.

After the war he completed his legal studies in Istanbul and returned to Bagdad about 1922.

He served for several years in the twenties as legal draughtsman in the Ministry of Justice.

First Deputy for Bagdad in 1926 and again in 1932, and in most of the Iraqi Parliaments since then. He resigned his seat with the Opposition Deputies in March 1950.

Director-General of Foreign Affairs 1935. Iraqi delegate at Geneva 1937 to 1938. He was appointed Iraqi Minister at Ankara in April 1943 but did not proceed. In 1945 he was a member of the Iraqi delegation at San Francisco.

Minister of Finance under Naji Shaukat 1932 and again under Jamil Madfai 1933. Minister of Economics under Jamil Madfai, June to October 1941. Minister for Foreign Affairs under Nuri Said June to October 1943. In the Cabinet of Muhammad Sadr of 1948 he was first Minister without Portfolio, then Minister of Interior and finally Minister for Foreign Affairs. He was closely associated with the formation of the United Popular Front in May 1951. Resigned from the Front in May 1952. Appointed a Senator in April 1953.

After the elections in January 1953 he was asked to form a Cabinet. He first invited former members of the Istiqlal and National Democratic Parties to join but, when they refused, tried to form a coalition consisting of former members of the

United Popular Front and the Constitutional Union Party and a few Independents. At the last moment Nuri's supporters withdrew and he abandoned his attempts to form a Government. His name is still occasionally mentioned as the next Prime Minister but somehow it never comes off and age makes his chances less likely.

Nasrat is more of a Turk than an Arab, although he was known as an Arab nationalist in the twenties when he was a member of the Sha'ab party of Yasin al Hashimi. He is honest, intelligent and cautious. His approach to political questions is legalistic and theoretical. His friend Hikmat Sulaiman calls him "Confucius." When considering any course of action he sees the difficulties more clearly than the advantages and is inclined to be obstructive. This characteristic made him one of Iraq's worst Ministers of Interior. He is a sincere reformer who believes in parliamentary democracy and resents the abuses of it which are normal in Iraq. He resigned from Nuri's Cabinet in 1943 as a protest against the Regent's interference in the elections. The nationalist views of his younger days have been modified by experience, but he is still a firm opponent of what he regards as undue British influence exercised through Nuri and the Palace. His wife is prominent in Ladies' Red Crescent activities, and both speak good English. He is personally friendly to the British.

#### 104. Nuri al Qadhi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1893. Graduated from Bagdad Law School in Turkish times, and in 1914 was a judge in Basra. During the first world war he served as a reserve officer with the Turkish forces.

He joined Iraqi Government service in 1921 after serving as judge in the Muntafik under the Civil Administration. Vice-President of the Civil Courts in several provinces, including Bagdad, 1925, and Mosul, 1937. Director-General of Waqfs, 1931, Head of Legal Drafting Department, Ministry of Justice, 1936. Director-General Ministry of Justice, March 1940, Secretary-General to the Council of Ministers, December 1941 and Head of the Diwan of the Council of Ministers in May 1950.

He accompanied Nuri Said to Ankara for the negotiation of the Iraqi-Turkish Treaty of 1946. Minister of Education, 1946, under Arshad al Umari, he afterwards returned to his post with the Council of Ministers. Appointed a member of the Development Board in June 1952. Resigned in November 1952.

#### 105. Nuri Sa'id, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., D.S.O.

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888, son of an accountant of Mosul descent. Educated at Military College, Istanbul and served in the Balkan war.

He was one of the founders of the Arab Nationalist Society, Al Ahd, in 1913 and joined the Arab army in the Hejaz in 1916. He served in this army as C.G.S. under his brother-in-law, Jafar al Askari. At that time he was described as a good strategist, clever and hard working, but rash and hot-headed under fire. He won the D.S.O. in 1917 and was appointed an honorary C.M.G. in 1919. Honorary G.C.M.G. May 1955.

After the 1914 war he remained with Faisal in Syria and accompanied him to London and Paris in 1919 and 1920. He was opposed to Faisal's break with the French.

He returned to Bagdad in February 1921 and soon after became C.G.S. and Director-General of Police, retaining these appointments until 1922.

He has been eleven times Minister of Defence, in 1922 (Acting), 1923, 1925, 1926, 1928, 1929 (twice), 1933, 1941 (Acting) and 1953 (twice) in Cabinets headed by Jafar al Askari, Abdul Muhsin Sa'adun, Rashid Ali Gailani himself and Jamil Madfai. Nine times Minister for Foreign Affairs, in 1930, 1933



(twice), 1934, 1938 (Acting), 1940 (Acting), 1942 (Acting), in Cabinets headed by Rashid Ali Gailani, Jamil Madfai, Ali Jaudat and himself. He has also been Prime Minister in 1930, 1931, 1938, 1939, 1941-43, 1946, 1949, 1950, 1951 and 1954.

His achievements in diplomacy are also impressive. He negotiated and signed the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930; he negotiated the Bon Voisinage Agreement with Nejd and the Hejaz, 1931. He signed the Extradition Treaty and a Treaty of Commerce with Turkey in 1932 and negotiated and signed the Economic and Commercial Treaty with Turkey in 1946. He represented Iraq at the London conversations in January 1939, which eventually resulted in the issue of the 1939 White Paper on Palestine, and he led the Iraqi delegation to the United Nations General Assembly which decided the partition of Palestine in 1947. He was a member of the Iraqi delegation which signed the unratified Portsmouth Treaty with the United Kingdom in 1948. He negotiated the Iraqi-Turkish Pact of February 1955 and the Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement of April 1955.

After the Bekr Sidqi military coup of October 1936, during which Jafar al Askari was murdered, Nuri retired with his family to Egypt. He returned a year later after Bekr Sidqi had been murdered and Hikmat Sulaiman's Government had fallen, but left again soon after and spent most of 1938 in Syria, Egypt and London, where he held a number of inconclusive conversations with politicians on the Palestine problem. In December 1938 he returned to Iraq and became Prime Minister as a result of a military demonstration organised on his behalf by Taha al Hashimi and Hussain Fawzi, against the Government of Jamil Madfai. In January 1941 he resigned from Rashid Ali's Government, in which he was Minister for Foreign Affairs, because of Rashid Ali's increasing inclination towards the Axis Powers. In April 1941, shortly before the army overthrew Taha al Hashimi and set up the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali, Nuri withdrew to Transjordan, where he remained until he was able to return with the Regent in June. He became Prime Minister in the autumn of the same year and remained in power until June 1944. During this period he collaborated closely with His Majesty's Ambassador in eradicating pro-Nazi propaganda in Iraq and it was due to his initiative that Iraq declared war on the Axis Powers in January 1943.

He accompanied the Regent on his travels to America and Europe during the summer of 1945, and to England in 1946. On his way home on the second occasion he had talks in Syria and Turkey in the hope of removing the difficulties between these countries.

He formed a Cabinet in November 1946 to carry out elections, and included in it some younger men and representatives of the newly formed National Democratic and Liberal Parties. Nuri's ideas about free elections did not agree with theirs, and they resigned after about a month protesting that Nuri and Saleh Jabr were preparing to exert undue Government influence on the elections.

Nuri collaborated with Saleh Jabr in the negotiation of the Portsmouth Treaty during 1947 and shared with him the nationalist resentment which was fermented against it in January 1948. Within a year, however, he demonstrated his mastery of the Iraqi political scene by returning to power as Prime Minister in January 1949. He succeeded in improving public security and in withdrawing the army from Palestine without incident. He took a very firm line with the organising committees of the Communist Party, five members of which were hanged. But he failed to do much to improve the financial position of the Government in spite of a personal visit to London. He was much disappointed by his failure

to obtain an advance of royalties from the Iraq Petroleum Company. During the troubled period which followed Colonel Zaim's *coup d'Etat* in Syria in the spring of 1949, Nuri worked hard, but unsuccessfully, for Iraqi-Syrian union. He resigned in December 1949.

In the summer of 1950 he went to London where he negotiated a temporary increase in oil royalties with the Iraq Petroleum Company. In 1951 he visited Bahrain, Kuwait and Jordan. Accompanied the Regent when the latter visited Kuwait and Bahrain in the spring of 1952 and Spain in May. He attended the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth in June 1953. In March 1954 he accompanied the King to Pakistan and visited Delhi as delegate of Iraq Government to discuss Middle East defence. In August 1954, when the authority of the Government was at a low ebb, he was called upon to form a new Government, although he was still recovering from a serious operation. By a series of restrictive ordinances and by his personal authority he restored the prestige of the Government and called for fresh elections which he rigged shamelessly. With the Chamber which resulted from these elections he prosecuted his policy of an alliance with Turkey and a revised agreement with the United Kingdom.

#### 106. Nuruddin Mahmud

Kurd, born in Mosul in 1899. Educated in Ottoman military schools, he was commissioned in the Turkish army in 1917 and in the Iraqi army in 1921.

A graduate of Camberley and Quetta, he was Iraqi Military Attaché in London in 1935 and became Lieutenant-Colonel in 1937. Promoted Colonel in 1939, he was appointed Ministry of Defence member of the Iraqi State Railways Board, and in 1940 he became Director of Military Operations.

In 1941 he opposed Rashid Ali's rebellion and after its collapse he took over command and initiated the Anglo-Iraqi armistice. Commander 2nd Division (Kirkuk), 1941-43; Assistant C.G.S., 1943; promoted Major-General and appointed Commander 1st Division (Diwaniya), 1944. In 1943 he visited the Western Desert battlefields, and in 1946 he attended the victory celebrations in London. In 1948 he was promoted Lieutenant-General and commanded the Iraqi forces in Palestine, where he was involved in the inter-Arab jealousies which prevented the establishment of an effective Arab High Command. In 1949 he returned to command the 1st Division. Appointed C.G.S. in July 1951. In November 1952 the Regent called on him to form a Government at the height of the riots. He quickly restored order and made a sincere attempt to improve the conditions of the lower classes. He held the portfolios of Defence and Interior in his own Cabinet. He resigned after conducting the elections in January 1953 and, to the disappointment of many officers, was prevented by the Regent from returning to the army. Promoted general in November 1952 and appointed to the Senate in January 1953.

He was probably the best Iraqi general officer and the army misses him. Many Iraqis sympathise with him for the ungrateful treatment he received after saving the country. He speaks English and Turkish well and his sympathies are steadily pro-British.

#### 107. Rafail Petros Butti

Christian of Mosul, born 1901. Educated at the Assyrian Orthodox School, Mosul, and at Secondary School, Baghdad. He later attended night classes and graduated from the Baghdad Law School, 1929.

Served in minor posts in the Ministry of Interior from 1925 to 1929. Contributed to the newspaper *Al Iraq* while still an official and after his resignation published *Al Bilad* in partnership with Jebran

Malcon. As a journalist he was consistently anti-British, but in Iraqi politics he frequently changed sides. He supported Nuri Said from 1921 to 1929, with occasional lapses. He supported Yasin al Hashimi from 1930 to 1935, Bekr Sidqi 1936 to 1937, and Rashid Ali 1938 to 1942. He was interned in 1942 but released in 1943 and resumed publication of *Al Bilad*. He went to Egypt in 1944 and remained there until 1948.

He was Deputy for Mosul in 1935, for Basra in 1939 and for Baghdad in 1948, in which year he attended the inter-Parliamentary Conference at Rome. He joined the Istiqlal Party in 1948 and was considered as one of its leaders. He resigned from the Majlis with the other Opposition Deputies in March 1950 and from the Istiqlal Party in May, because of its decision to contest the by-elections occasioned by the resignations. Appointed Press Counsellor at the Iraqi Legation in Cairo in February 1951. Returned to Iraq in 1952. Elected Deputy for Baghdad in January 1953. In September 1953 was Minister of State entrusted with press and propaganda. As a Minister was byzantine and got little done, though it was true that circumstances were against him. His attacks on communism made him detested by the National Democratic Party and the fellow-travellers and they encompassed his defeat in the elections of June 1954.

In February 1955 he was granted a licence to revive his paper *Al Bilad* which had been in abeyance since 1953.

Butti is a capable and fearless journalist but he is unscrupulous, venal and quite unreliable.

#### 108. Rafiq 'Arif al Qaimaqchi, K.B.E. (Major-General)

Sunni Kurd. Born 1907. An artillery officer who qualified at the Staff Colleges of Baghdad and Quetta. He was commandant of the former in 1947 and 1949. He has also commanded the Mechanised Force in Palestine 1948-1949, the Iraqi troops (strength two brigades) left in Jordan after the Iraqi evacuation of Palestine, and the 2nd Division from 1951 to 1953. He is now a major-general and Chief of the General Staff.

An outstanding personality with qualities of leadership and a special aptitude for picking other people's brains. His chief characteristics are his energy and his heartiness. He is very pro-British and will try to keep the army on British lines in spite of outside influence, provided he gets support from us. He has been decorated with the Order of Rafidain, the American Legion of Merit and in May 1955 was appointed an honorary K.B.E. for his part in the negotiations for the Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement of April 1955.

#### 109. Rashid Ali al Gailani

Bagdad Sunni, born 1892. A distant relation of the Naqib. A Waqf clerk in Ottoman times, he fled to Mosul with the Turks after the capture of Bagdad and practised as a lawyer after the fall of Mosul.

Appointed judge, 1921, he soon showed his ability. Minister of Justice under Yasin al Hashimi, 1924-25, he resigned over the signing of the Turkish Petroleum Company's concession. President of the Chamber of Deputies, 1925-26. Minister of Interior under Jafar al Askari, 1926-28.

Again elected Deputy in 1930, he resigned (with others) in 1931 in protest against the conduct of Nuri Said's Government, and became a prominent member of the nationalist Hizb al Ikha al Watani. Chief Private Secretary to the King 1932-33.

Prime Minister from March to October 1933 he was appointed Senator in 1934. He helped to organise the Euphrates disturbances which forced Ali Jaudat to resign in spring 1935, and became Minister

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of Interior in the Cabinet then formed by Yasin al Hashimi.

In 1936 he fled to Istanbul after Bekr Sidqi's *coup d'Etat*. Returning to Iraq in 1937, he opposed Jamil Madfai's Government and was deported to Anah for a short time in 1938.

Prime Minister from March 1940 to January 1941, he moved steadily towards a closer understanding with the Axis. He kept close contact with the Italian Legation in Bagdad, supported the intrigues of the Mufti of Jerusalem, sponsored the overtures made by Naji Shaukat (q.v.) to the German Minister in Turkey, and encouraged the pro-Nazi press. Forced to resign by British pressure in January 1941, he returned to office through a *coup d'Etat* in April, installed Sharif Sharaf in place of the Regent and, backed by the Iraqi Army, refused to allow more than one brigade of British troops in Iraq.

In May 1941, when hostilities broke out between the Iraqi Army and the British forces in Habbaniya, he tried to unite the country against Britain but failed to get substantial tribal support. After the defeat of the Iraqi forces he fled to Persia, Turkey, and finally to Germany.

He was tried *in absentia* by court martial and sentenced to death in 1942. Recognised by the Axis as legitimate Prime Minister of Iraq, he conducted an anti-British campaign by radio throughout the war.

In 1945 he escaped through the German lines to Prague and thence, with a false passport and the unwitting assistance of Allied military transport, to Marseilles, from where he sailed to Beirut. He arrived at Riyadh in September 1945, declared himself to Ibn Saud and was granted asylum.

He is still in Riyadh, an extra thorn in Saudi-Hashimite relations but his wife was permitted to return to Bagdad in October 1953 after twelve years' absence. His health is now said to be declining rapidly. King Saud is said to be tired of him, but schemes to move him elsewhere have not so far been satisfactory, and seasonal rumours that the Regent had pardoned him have proved untrue. These rumours gained in strength after the accession of King Faisal II and, since many of his former associates have returned to positions of authority, it is possible that he will soon be allowed to return to Iraq. He still has admirers in Iraq, particularly in the Istiqlal Party.

#### 110. Rauf al Bahrani

Bagdad Shia, born 1897. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he was appointed to a clerical post in the Ministry of Finance in 1922 and rose—it is said not entirely by merit—to be Director-General of Customs and Excise in 1935.

Minister of Finance under Yasin al Hashimi 1935-36. Again Director General of Customs and Excise 1938-40. Minister of Finance under Nuri Said 1940; of Social Affairs under Rashid Ali 1940-41; and again of Social Affairs in Rashid Ali's rebel Government in April-May 1941.

After Rashid Ali's overthrow he fled to Persia, where he was arrested by British forces in autumn 1941 and sent for internment to Southern Rhodesia. Sent back to Iraq for trial in 1944, he was condemned to three years' hard labour and sequestration of his property.

After his release he engaged in business and gradually reinstated himself until in May 1950 he was appointed Director-General of Income Tax. In July 1952 he was appointed a member of the Government Oil Board.

Although he talks the conventional Arab nationalist language, he was a tool rather than an associate of Rashid Ali. Early in 1950 he made himself known to a member of this Embassy and since then has regained his position in Bagdad society.

He speaks no English.



**111. Rauf al Chadirchi**

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1884. Educated at Istanbul and at Berlin and Geneva Universities. Before the war he was successively a clerk in the legal drafting department of the Turkish Ministry of Justice, a professor of law at the Turkish Law College, Qaimmaqam of Diyala, and adviser on foreign affairs to the Turkish Governor of Bagdad. Immediately before its fall he was the Mayor of Bagdad. He went to Berlin shortly before the occupation, and later to Switzerland. He was not permitted to return to Bagdad until 1920.

In Bagdad he practised as a lawyer and took no part in Nationalist agitation, but was asked to go with his father when the latter was deported to Istanbul in August 1920. He returned in 1921 and took up his law practice, obtaining much of the business of foreign firms owing to his knowledge of languages. Professor at the Bagdad Law School 1922, Dean 1923.

Deputy for Hilla 1924, he opposed the 1922 Treaty. Minister of Finance under Abdul Mushin al Sa'adun, Minister of Justice under Jafar al Askari 1926. Iraqi Minister to Ankara 1929. He resigned in 1930 and returned to Bagdad as legal adviser to the Iraq Petroleum Company.

Iraqi Minister in London from 1936 to 1939 when he resigned. He generally spends the summer months in England.

Rauf has a charming and kindly personality and looks on the intrigues and enthusiasms of Iraqi politics with an indulgent contempt. He is universally popular and consequently well informed, but will not often talk about politics. He speaks English, French, German and Turkish. Is badly crippled with arthritis. In April 1952 he surprised Bagdad society by marrying Majda, the stepdaughter of Daud al Haidari (q.v.), who is at least thirty years younger than he is. He is the brother of Kamil Chadirchi (q.v.) by a different mother but the two are not on speaking terms.

**112. Rayih al Atiyah (Haji)**

Shia. Sheikh of the Bani Hassan tribe of Diwaniya. Born about 1890. Deputy for Diwaniya five times between 1933 and 1939. At that time he was a fervent nationalist. A Senator from 1944 to June 1952. In November 1952 he became Minister of Agriculture in Nuruddin Mahmud's Cabinet. Re-appointed to the Senate in April 1953. He is not of much political importance. He speaks Arabic only.

**113. Rushdi al Chalabi**

Born about 1914, son of Abdul Hadi Chalabi (q.v.) of a prominent and wealthy Shia family in Kadhimain.

Associated with his father in various commercial and industrial enterprises including large-scale grain exports, jute manufacture and vegetable oil extraction.

Politically a supporter of Nuri Pasha and in 1950 elected to the Central Committee of Nuri's Constitutional Union Party. Elected as one of the Deputies for Kadhimain in 1948 and elected unopposed to the present Parliament in September 1954. Appointed Minister without Portfolio in the Government of Nuri Said in August 1954. Subsequently appointed as Minister of Agriculture. He is an active Minister, who has made many changes among his civil servants. Somewhat surly in manner and possessed of only fair knowledge of English.

Visited the United Kingdom in 1954 as a member of the Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation, guests of the British Group of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

**114. Sa'ad Umar**

Born in Kerbala in 1917. Shia. Son of Umar Haj Alwan, one of the Kerbala representatives on

the Constituent Assembly. Educated at Kerbala and Bagdad. Graduated in the Law College about 1941. Thereafter he practised as a lawyer in Kerbala until 1947, when he became Deputy for Kerbala. He was not re-elected in 1948, but was put in in a bye-election later in the year. Minister for Social Affairs in Ali Jaudat's Government of December 1949, and of Education in Taufik al Suwaidi's Cabinet in February 1950. A member of Nuri Pasha's Constitutional Union Party November 1949.

In the Chamber of Deputies after he had failed to substantiate allegations of corruption which he had made against four Cabinet Ministers, he was suspended for the remainder of the parliamentary session.

A protégé of Saleh Jabr, who was a friend of his father. He owns a little property in Kerbala. He is full of large ideas but very inexperienced and unintelligent.

**115. Sadiq al Bassam**

Bagdad Shia, born about 1895. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he practised as a lawyer for several years.

Elected Deputy for Kut in 1930, he supported Yasin al Hashimi and was a member of the Ikha al Watani Party. Minister of Education under Yasin al Hashimi 1935-36. Minister of Economics under Nuri Said 1939-40 and of Education under Rashid Ali in 1941.

Remaining inactive during the 1941 disturbances, he was Minister of Justice 1941-42 and of Communications and Works December 1943 to June 1944 under Nuri Said; of Finance under Muhammad al Sadr, January to June 1948; and of Defence under Muzahim Pachachi from June to October 1948. A Senator from 1941, his appointment was not renewed in 1949. A founder member of the United Popular Front, May 1951. He left the Front in June 1952 and was elected Deputy for Bagdad in January 1953. Re-elected 1954. He owns and edits the influential newspaper *al Difa* which was banned by Dr. Jamali's Government but reappeared under the title *al Hiyad*, only to be suppressed again by Nuri al Said in 1954.

Sadiq is a xenophobe with violent prejudices and ill-concealed fanaticism. As Minister of Defence in 1948 he was mainly responsible for the fierce sentences passed on Jews by the courts martial and for encouraging anti-Jewish feeling. He does not like the British, and his policy is often indistinguishable from that of the Istiqlal Party. Only Deputy to speak against the Special Agreement between Iraq and the United Kingdom when debated in the Chamber in March 1954. He speaks Arabic only. His private life is disreputable. He suffers badly from diabetes and from nerves which his addiction to whisky does nothing to improve. Despite all this, is an amusing, not unsympathetic personality and is tolerated if not liked by his political opponents.

**116. Said Qazzaz**

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born about 1903. Largely self-educated. He began his career as a clerk in the Mutasarrifiya in Sulaimaniya in 1924. Appointed Qaimmaqam of Halebja in 1934. Transferred in 1939 to Kakho and in 1941 to Kifri. From 1941 to 1944 he served in the Ministry of the Interior. In 1944 he was appointed Mutasarrif at Kut. Transferred to Erbil in 1945 and to Kirkuk in 1947, after a short spell as an Administrative Inspector. Appointed Mutasarrif of Mosul in 1949. Was offered an appointment with the Basra Petroleum Company in the spring of 1952, but at Nuri Said's request agreed to remain at Mosul until the general elections.

Minister of Social Affairs under Nuruddin Mahmud, December 1952. Appointed Director-General of Iraqi Ports in February 1953 but resigned after a quarrel over the appointment of Finance Officer with Abdul Wahab Murjan (q.v.) in March. Reappointed in June 1953. In September 1953 was appointed Minister of the Interior in Dr. Jamali's Government and retained that post when Dr. Jamali reformed the Government in March 1954. In October 1953 by agreement with the Talabani family was elected Deputy for Kirkuk at a bye-election. In April 1954 was Minister of the Interior in Arshad al Umari's Cabinet and responsible for the conduct of elections. Although he did not escape the accusation of interference especially from the Left, he conducted the elections well and did not allow a difficult security situation to get out of hand. He resigned directly the elections were over. Minister of Interior under Nuri Said since August 1954. His participation in these Governments was not entirely in accordance with his desires, since he would much rather have retained the post of Director-General of Ports and he felt himself entitled to criticise Dr. Jamali's weaknesses, particularly the decision to allow students expelled for Communist tendencies to re-enter the Government schools and colleges. He therefore felt more at home in Nuri Said's more authoritarian Government, though he complained of lack of access to the Prime Minister. He succeeded in his terms of office in building up the morale of the police which had remained at a low ebb since the events of 1952.

He has visited England and in the summer of 1950 he toured America as a guest of the United States Government.

Hard-working, honest and fearless, Said Qazzaz is generally regarded as one of the best administrators in the country. He is a close friend of Mustafa al Umari and Majid Mustafa. He speaks good English.

**117. Saleh Haidar (Dr.)**

Shia of Bagdad born in 1914. After completing his secondary school education in Bagdad, he went for a year to the American University of Beirut and from 1933-36 to the London School of Economics where he took a degree in economics. Assistant Collector of Customs, 1936-37. In 1937 he returned for a year to the London School of Economics for further study. On his return to Iraq he studied land problems and went back again to his London School of Economics from 1939-42. Ph.D. of London University, 1942. In 1943-46 he held various appointments in the Ministry of Supply, and in 1946-48 in the Ministry of Finance.

Member of the Iraqi Delegation to the San Francisco Conference 1945. Acting Director-General of State Domains, 1948. In the same year he was seconded from the Ministry of Finance and made Deputy Governor of the National Bank of Iraq. In 1950 he went to Washington and London in connexion with the negotiations for the International Bank loan to Iraq and the Scarce Currency Agreements. His appointment as Deputy Governor of the National Bank was suddenly though not unexpectedly terminated in June 1952. Appointed Assistant Director-General of State Domains August 1953 and Director-General of Revenues by Dr. Jamali in October 1953. As such was an Iraqi member of the Standing Committee set up to work out details of the Anglo-Iraqi Special Agreement of 1955.

A supporter of Saleh Jabr, he is honest, intelligent, but conceited, and he does not get on well with his colleagues. He also has the reputation of being untrustworthy. He was on very bad terms with the Governor of the National Bank, Abdul Ilah Hafiz (q.v.), who refused to deal with him or give him any work to do. He appears to suspect that British

influence was to blame for this treatment, but he is on friendly terms with members of the embassy staff. He speaks excellent English. His wife is the sister of the wife of Abdul Karim al Uzri (q.v.).

**118. Saleh Jabr, K.B.E.**

Shia, born about 1897 in Nasiriya. His father was a carpenter, originally from the Beni Zaid tribe of Shatta. Educated in Nasiriya, he became a clerk in the Najaf court in 1919.

By 1924 he had risen to be head clerk in the Ministry of Justice. He entered the Bagdad Law College the same year, and after graduation in 1927-28 he was appointed as a judge and served for over two years in the Middle Euphrates.

Elected Deputy for the Muntafik in 1930 and 1934, he was Minister of Education under Jamil Madfai November 1933 to February 1934. Mutasarrif Kerbala 1935-36. Appointed Minister of Justice under Hikmat Sulaiman in October 1936, he resigned in June 1937 over the Euphrates disturbances and left the country. He returned after Hikmat's resignation and was appointed Director-General of Customs and Excise.

Minister of Education December 1938 to February 1940 and then of Social Affairs until March 1940 under Nuri Said. Mutasarrif of Basra from June 1940, he supported the Regent when his Royal Highness fled to Basra in April 1941 to escape from Rashid Ali. Arrested by Rashid Ali, he narrowly escaped a heavy sentence and was released on condition he left the country. He withdrew to Tehran and returned after Rashid Ali's fall.

Minister of Interior October 1941 to October 1942, of Finance until June 1943, and again of Interior until October 1943 under Nuri Said. Minister of Finance June 1944 to February 1946 and Acting Minister of Supply August to December 1944 under Hamdi Pachachi. During Pachachi's absence he acted as Prime Minister and was expected to form a Government when the Pachachi Cabinet resigned. He was not, however, chosen, and spent much of the summer of 1946 in England.

He was appointed honorary K.B.E. for war services in 1946.

After a short time as Minister of Finance under Nuri Said in November 1945 he became the first Shia Prime Minister of Iraq after the elections of March 1947. Forced to resign in January 1948 by popular demonstrations against the Portsmouth Treaty, he spent much of 1948 abroad, but gradually recovered his position during 1949 and became Minister of Interior under Taufiq Suwaidi in February 1950. He was not invited to join Nuri Said's cabinet in September 1950 and he spent the winter months abroad. His relations with Nuri improved in the spring of 1951 but efforts to bring him into the cabinet did not succeed. In June he was granted permission to form the Popular Socialist Party.

From the founding of the Popular Socialist Party, a struggle for political leadership in Iraq began between Saleh and Nuri and the rift between them steadily widened for the next three years encouraged by their respective supporters. Saleh himself fell under the evil influence of Sayid Abdul Mahdi (q.v.) and his party became more and more identified with Shia sectarianism. For purely party reasons he opposed the oil agreements in Parliament in February 1952. For similar reasons he and his party joined in the demand for direct elections which led to the riots of November 1952. He called on his followers to boycott the elections of January 1953 on the grounds that they were rigged. All except six of them withdrew and they were later expelled. In the elections of June 1954 his party gained 21 seats, which was fewer than he had hoped for. In the fresh elections which Nuri held in September after



returning to power in August 1954, the party split. Taufiq Wahbi (q.v.) and some others being prepared to co-operate with Nuri while Saleh himself and Abdul Mahdi and the bulk of their supporters were not. The result was that the party was not represented at all. The Popular Socialist Party, like all other political parties, was dissolved by the Associations Ordinance No. 19 of 28th August, 1954, and it is hard to assess what popular following Saleh now commands.

A temporary improvement in his relations with Nuri took place in the spring of 1955 when Saleh, eschewing party considerations, supported Nuri's foreign policy of alignment with Turkey and the West. While he supported Nuri's principles, he criticised his methods, with some justification. In the early summer of 1955 it was thought that the reconciliation might be completed by the inclusion of Saleh in Nuri's Cabinet but this was not to be because Nuri's closest supporters bitterly opposed the idea and Saleh's supporters pressed him not to co-operate unless a substantial block of seats in Parliament was offered to him. As this would mean a new election, Nuri was not prepared to agree.

Saleh's merit has justified his rise from obscurity to be the first Shia Prime Minister and the most powerful Shia politician in Iraq. He has a strong personality and is capable, energetic and courageous. His influence in the Euphrates area is still believed to be great. When Prime Minister, however, he showed himself dictatorial, secretive, pompous and vindictive and made himself a number of enemies.

As an administrator he has left a good name though he was too aloof to make many personal friends. As Prime Minister he concerned himself too much with long-range economic planning and foreign policy, neglecting his colleagues and his enemies and the necessary short-term economic measures. This neglect was the ultimate cause of his fall.

His sympathies are with Britain but he has shown himself a hard bargainer. He is an ardent advocate of Arab unity and in particular the Fertile Crescent Plan.

His first wife died in 1936 and in 1942 he married the strong-minded and meddlesome daughter of the late Addia al Jaryan, chief of the influential Albu Sultan tribe of Hillah. During the war her influence lost him much support when the Albu Sultan were divided, and she continues to be a handicap to him politically.

He speaks English.

#### 119. Saleh Saib al Jubhuri

Sunni of the Jubur tribe of Mosul, born in 1898. Commissioned in the Turkish army in 1916 and in the Iraqi army in 1921, he was appointed instructor in the newly formed Small Arms School in Bagdad. During this appointment he attended a small arms course at Hythe, and later attended courses at the Iraqi Staff College and the Staff College, Camberley. A personal friend of Bekr Sidqi and a supporter of the 1936 *coup d'Etat*, he was retired after the assassination of Bekr Sidqi and appointed Assistant Director-General of the Iraqi State Railways. In 1941, after Rashid Ali's flight, he was invited to rejoin the army and was appointed G.O.C. 3rd Division. In 1944 he succeeded Ismail Namiq (q.v.) as Chief of the General Staff. He was promoted to lieutenant-general in 1945 and general in 1950. On handing over the office of Chief of General Staff in 1951 to General Nuruddin Mahmud (q.v.) he became a Senator. He was offered the Ministry of Defence by Nasrat-al-Farisi during his abortive attempt to form a Cabinet in January 1953. Appointed Minister of Communications and Works under Nuri in August 1954.

He neither drinks, smokes nor gambles, and is said to be just and honest; but he had neither the ability nor the personality to be a good Chief of General Staff or Minister, and his impotence as a leader was displayed in the 1948 Palestine campaign. He speaks English.

#### 120. Saleh Zakki Taufiq (Brigadier)

Sunni Muslim, born in Bagdad in 1908 of mixed Turkish and Arab parents. Attended Senior Officers' School, Erlestoke Park, in 1948. He was appointed to command the 2nd Division as a Brigadier in June 1954, having held the command in an acting capacity since October 1953.

He is pro-British in outlook. His English is only fair and he has few social graces. He is genuine and very interested in his profession. A live personality with drive and enthusiasm, who makes his presence felt in the formation he commands.

#### 121. Sami Fattah

A native of Mosul of Kurdish origin, born in 1905. Educated at the Teachers' Training College in Bagdad, he taught in Iraqi schools from 1922 to 1925.

In 1925 he joined the Iraqi Army and was sent to Sandhurst in 1926. Commissioned in the Iraqi Army in 1928, he was attached to the newly formed Royal Iraqi Air Force and returned to England for training with the R.A.F. When he came back to Iraq he was appointed to the Royal Iraqi Air Force.

He graduated from the Iraqi Staff College in 1937 and in 1941, after the Rashid Ali rebellion, he was appointed Commander of the R.I.A.F. He held this appointment until 1954 (with the rank of Brigadier until 1952 when he was made a Major-General), except for a short interlude in 1948 when he was sent to Europe on a secret arms purchasing mission which was a complete failure. Appointed Minister of Social Affairs in April 1954 and placed on pension from that date. Transferred to the Ministry of Development June 1954 and to be Director-General of Ports in August 1954.

He is an energetic and jovial man, a good disciplinarian, and one of the Iraqi army's best leaders. He made every effort to improve the training and equipment of the R.I.A.F. After the comparative discipline and efficiency of the armed forces, the inefficiency of the Iraqi Civil Service came as a great shock to him and he tried to wield the new broom. Entrenched incompetence is, however, proving too much for him. He speaks English well and his sympathies are pro-British. Has latterly suffered from ill-health.

#### 122. Sami Shawkat

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1893. Brother of Naji Shawkat (q.v.). Graduated from Military College of Medicine, Istanbul, 1916. Joined the Arab army in Syria in 1919.

Appointed to Iraqi Health Service 1921; Director-General of Education 1937; Director-General of Public Health 1936; again Director-General of Education 1939.

Minister of Social Affairs 1939 and of Education 1940 under Nuri Said. He was re-appointed Director-General of Education in April 1940 and retained this position through the disturbances of 1941 until 1943, when he became Director-General of Social Affairs.

Resigned from Government service in 1945 and started the newspaper *Ba'th al Qawmi*, which was violently nationalist, anti-Communist and anti-British and was suppressed in 1946. In 1949 he started a political party named Islah, together with a few retired officials. Elected Deputy for Kut in the by-elections of June 1950.

He is earnest, obtuse and fairly honest, with an exaggerated sense of his own importance. He plays no active part in politics now. He speaks Arabic and Turkish only.

#### 123. Shakir Maher

Born about 1915. A lawyer and prominent member of the Istiqlal Party until 1951, when he resigned. Elected as an independent Deputy for Bagdad (Samarra) in 1953 and again in 1954. He has spoken consistently against the Governments in office and is regarded as one of the younger and more ambitious Opposition Deputies. His ideas are still very much those of the Istiqlal Party, though he has toed the line dutifully in Nuri's Parliament as the price of his election. Visited Turkey with the Iraqi Parliamentary Delegation in April 1955.

#### 124. Shakir al Wadi, M.V.O.

Bagdad Sunni, born 1894. An officer in the Turkish army from 1915 to the Armistice, he joined the Iraqi army in 1921.

Promoted captain in 1928, he was attached for training to British units in the United Kingdom in 1929. In 1930 he was promoted major and made A.D.C. to King Faisal, on whose staff he served during His Majesty's State visit to Britain in 1933. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel and attended the Staff College, Camberley, in 1935.

Returning to Iraq in 1936, he was appointed G.S.O.I. in the Kirkuk Division, of which Bekr Sidqi was the G.O.C., and was the latter's right-hand man in the 1936 *coup d'Etat*. Appointed military attaché in London after the murder of Bekr Sidqi in 1937, he was dismissed and placed on the retired list a few weeks later, and soon began to take part in political intrigue.

Appointed second secretary in the Iraqi Legation in Tehran in 1939, he later fell under the influence of the German Legation there and as *chargé d'affaires* in 1941 he dutifully carried out the instructions of Rashid Ali's rebel Government.

Consul at Jerusalem 1941-44. First secretary (and sometimes *chargé d'affaires*) in the Iraqi Legation in London 1944-46. Appointed Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1946.

Minister of Defence under Nuri Said November 1946 to March 1947; under Saleh Jabr March 1947 to January 1948; under Muzahim Pachachi October 1948 to January 1949; under Nuri Said January 1949 to December 1949; and under Tawfiq Suweidi from February 1950 and under Nuri Said from September 1950. He acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs from September 1950 to February 1951, and acted in the same capacity in 1951. He became a member of the Central Committee of the Constitutional Union Party in November 1950. Appointed Senator March 1949. He led the Iraqi parliamentary delegation to the United Kingdom in 1954. Minister of Social Affairs under Nuri since August 1954.

Shakir used to enjoy the personal friendship and confidence of the Regent, to whose influence he owed his frequent ministerial appointments since 1946, but in 1952 he fell from favour. He is blasé and inefficient and apparently believes that the sole duty of the Minister of Social Affairs is to be "sociable." He is widely disliked in political circles, partly on account of his very disreputable private life. He speaks English well, supports Iraq's British connection, and was largely responsible for the payment of generous gratuities to the relatives of the British airmen who lost their lives on flood relief operations in 1954.

#### 125. Shawkat al Zahawi (Dr.)

Kurd, born about 1898, the son of a colonel in the Ottoman army. Educated in Bagdad and at the Military Medical College in Constantinople, he joined the Iraqi Health Service in 1922.

He has specialised in pathology, on which he has written a number of articles. He is now Director of

the Central Pathological Institute and Professor of Pathology in the Royal Medical College.

He was Minister of Social Affairs under Tawfiq al Suweidi for a short time in 1946.

In the Royal Medical College he is an incompetent intriguer, but since he is married to a daughter of the late Mohammed Fadhil Pasha al Daghestani, and therefore has connexions with Najib al Rawi (q.v.) and Hikmat Sulaiman (q.v.), he cannot easily be unseated. He speaks English.

#### 126. Taha al Hashemi

Sunni of Bagdad, born 1888. Educated at Istanbul and served in the Turkish army in Arabia and the Yemen during the First World War. Appointed to the Turkish General Staff 1920.

He returned to Bagdad in 1922, joined the Iraq army and was given command of the troops in Mosul. C.G.S. 1923. He was on the staff of the High Commissioner for the frontier negotiations with Turkey after the Treaty of Lausanne 1924. When the post of C.G.S. was abolished he became tutor to the then Crown Prince Ghazi 1924; Chief of the Census Department 1926; and Director of Education 1928. In 1930 he again became C.G.S. In 1931 he visited the Imam Yahya and concluded the Iraq-Yemen Treaty of Friendship. He was in Turkey in October 1936 when the Bekr Sidqi *coup d'Etat* forced the resignation of the Prime Minister (Taha's brother, the late Yasin al Hashemi), and he did not return to Iraq until September 1937, after the murder of Bekr Sidqi.

Elected Deputy for Bagdad December 1937 and again in 1939. In December 1938, in collaboration with the C.G.S., Husain Fawzi (q.v.), he organised the military demonstration which caused the resignation of Jamil Madfai (q.v.) and replaced him as Prime Minister by Nuri Said. Taha became Minister of Defence in Nuri's Government and retained this portfolio in the succeeding Government of Rashid Ali in 1940. He resigned in January 1941 and himself became Prime Minister in February. He failed to break the influence of the pro-Axis military clique, who overthrew him and set up the unconstitutional Government of Rashid Ali a month later. He then retired to Turkey, where he remained for the rest of the war, because Nuri Said was unwilling to allow him to return.

He spent much of the time after the war in Syria, but in May 1951 he played the leading part in the formation of the United Popular Front. He was elected President of the Front's Supreme Committee, but in the spring of 1953 showed signs of losing interest in domestic politics and when in August 1953 he was appointed Vice-President of the Development Board, he gave up all political activity. He knows no English but speaks French, Turkish and Arabic.

He is no friend of the British, nor for that matter of the Crown Prince with whom he engaged in a slanging match in 1952 before a gathering of ex-Prime Ministers.

#### 127. Tahsin Qadri, K.C.V.O., O.B.E.

Sunni of Damascus, born 1893. He was with King Faisal in Damascus and accompanied him to Europe in 1920. Came to Bagdad with the King and was appointed A.D.C. in 1921.

Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1932, he accompanied King Faisal on his State visit to England in 1933. He resigned in 1936 owing to Princess Azza's scandalous marriage. Counsellor to Iraqi Legation, Tehran, 1936. Consul-General, Bombay, 1937. Director of Protocol in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in February and Consul-General, Beirut, in July 1939. He became, in addition, *Chargé d'affaires* at Damascus when the Iraqi Government recognised the new Syrian Government



in 1943. Accredited as Minister to Syria and the Lebanon in 1944. Acting Director-General, Foreign Affairs, 1945, Minister at Paris 1946. Master of Ceremonies at the Palace 1947. In June 1949 he was temporarily appointed Minister at Tehran when the Regent visited Persia in that year, but returned to his post at the Palace a few months later. In June 1952 he accompanied the Amir Abdul Ilah to Amman. He was responsible for arranging King Faisal II's Accession celebrations in May 1953 and was a member of the Iraqi delegation to the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth the following month. Accompanied His Majesty to Pakistan March 1954 and to Jordan and Turkey in 1955.

Tahsin is sociable and clever and makes a not very efficient but agreeable Master of Ceremonies. Though well-intentioned, it is very questionable whether his influence at the Palace is to the ultimate advantage of the monarchy. He much enjoys his whisky and the company of European ladies. Politically he is a lightweight. He is married to the heiress of Abdul Wahhab Pasha Qartas of Basra. He speaks Turkish, French and English. His ambition is to succeed the Amir Zaid as ambassador in London.

#### 128. Tariq al Askari

Sunni, born in Aleppo in 1914. Son of the late Jaafar Pasha al Askari. Nuri Said is his uncle. Educated at King's College, Cambridge, from 1932-35 and took a degree in engineering. In 1936-37 worked as engineer with the Grampian Electricity Supply Company in Scotland. Engineer in the Directorate-General of Irrigation, 1937-42. Deputy for Kut, 1943-48. From May to October 1948 served with the Arab Legion in Jerusalem and held the rank of captain. Appointed Director of the Agricultural Section of the Development Board in April 1952. He resigned in the autumn and was elected Deputy for Qalaat Salih in January 1953. Re-elected 1954. Was chosen Second Vice-President of the Chamber of Deputies December 1953. Appointed Minister at the Embassy in London, June 1955.

Tariq was a member of the Higher Committee of Nuri's Constitutional Union Party. Intelligent, wealthy, able and witty, he is one of the few younger Iraqis with a balanced judgment. Although a sincere Nationalist he regards the shortcomings of his own countrymen with amused cynicism. He is a genuine friend and admirer of Britain and a believer in the British connexion, though he has been known to criticise it publicly. He is also friendly with the United States Embassy. Tariq speaks excellent English, Turkish and some French. His wife, a daughter of the late Jaafar al Pachachi, also speaks good English and appears in mixed society. They entertain frequently and well.

#### 129. Taufiq al Mukhtar

Born about 1900. A former officer of Iraqi army. Elected Deputy for Bagdad in 1950, 1953 and again in 1954. Chairman of Military Affairs Committee in the Chamber. Member of the so-called Nationalist *blocc* in the 1950 Parliament and always in opposition to the Government of the day. A vociferous critic of the British connexion. He stands for Parliament as an independent. Speaks no English.

#### 130. Taufiq al Naib

Sunni, born about 1895. A student at the Law School in Bagdad at the outbreak of the First World War, he completed his studies after the British occupation and was appointed to a post in the Department of Justice in 1923.

From 1926 to 1943 he was a judge and served in many parts of the country, though the bulk of his service was in Bagdad. He gained the reputation of a strong and just judge without political ambitions.

Appointed Mutasarrif of Kut 1943, and transferred to Diwaniya 1944. Minister of Economics under Saleh Jabr from September 1947 to January 1948, and of Interior under Nuri Said from March to September 1949. Appointed Comptroller-General of Accounts in November 1949.

He is a quiet, retiring man who neither smokes nor drinks.

He was a good judge, but a poor administrator. He is impassive and unimaginative, and needs always the letter of the law to support a decision that others may enforce. Though not a member of Saleh Jabr's party, he is one of his principal supporters. He speaks no English.

#### 131. Taufiq Suwaidi

Sunni, of a well-established Bagdad family, born about 1889. Educated at Bagdad, Istanbul and Paris, where he studied International Law, he was appointed interpreter to the Ministry of Education at Istanbul in 1913. In the same year he represented Iraq at the Arab Conference in Paris. During the First World War he was in Istanbul. After the armistice he joined the Arab Government in Syria and was appointed a judge at Damascus. He returned to Bagdad in 1921 and was appointed Assistant Government Counsellor and Director of the Law School.

Deputy from 1924. President of the Chamber 1929, he has held the following Cabinet posts: Education under Abdul Musin Sa'adun 1928; Foreign Affairs under Jamil Madfai in 1934; Justice in Jamil Madfai's twelve-day Cabinet of 1935; Foreign Affairs again under Madfai 1937; Foreign Affairs under Taha al Hashimi 1941. He was Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri Pasha for a short time in 1943 but resigned the following year when the constitutional validity of this office was called in question. He was Prime Minister in 1929, 1946 and 1950 and joined Nuri Said's Cabinet as Deputy Prime Minister and Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs in February 1951. Resigned from the Cabinet in July 1951. Member of the Regency Council during the Regent's brief visit to Amman in June 1952. Foreign Minister under Jamil Madfai in January 1953.

Taufiq was Iraqi Minister at Tehran in 1931 and has had considerable diplomatic experience. As Minister for Foreign Affairs he headed the Iraqi Delegation to Geneva in 1937, where he is said to have handled the Palestine and Assyrian questions with tact and moderation. He again represented Iraq at Geneva in 1938 and afterwards visited London to discuss the Palestine problem with the British Foreign and Colonial Secretaries. He was a member of the Iraqi Delegation to the San Francisco Conference in 1945, and in 1948 he was one of the signatories of the unratified Portsmouth Treaty. Attended meeting of the Arab League Political Committee in April 1953 at Cairo. Accompanied King Faisal to Jordan August 1953. Visited Damascus and Beirut on behalf of Nuri's Government in May 1955.

His elder brother, the late Naji Suwaidi, was a prominent member of Rashid Ali's rebel Government but Taufiq was not implicated in the movement. Nevertheless, he is not completely trusted by the Regent and was not appointed a Senator until 1947. The Regent also vetoed Nuri's proposal to include him in his Cabinet in the autumn of 1949.

Taufiq is intelligent, subtle and not altogether honest, either politically or financially. In Arab affairs he generally follows the Egyptian lead and in Iraqi politics he is normally opposed to Nuri Said but has co-operated with him on occasions, as he did over the Agreements with Turkey and the United

Kingdom in the spring of 1955. He is popularly supposed to be a Liberal. It was he who permitted the operation of political parties in 1946 after they had been banned for many years, and for a short time in 1946 he was president of the Liberal Party. He also has some reputation as a nationalist, but it is doubtful if any of his political convictions are strongly held. He is a rich man, a landed proprietor, who has also wide business interests, in many cases in partnership with Iraqi Jews. He is known to have used his political influence in favour of his business interests. He has a keen sense of humour, is excellent company and speaks French and English fluently but incorrectly.

#### 132. Taufiq Wahbi Ma'ruf, C.B.E.

Kurd of Sulaimaniya, born in 1887. Graduating from the Turkish Military College in 1904, he served in European Turkey and was a regimental commander and later a staff officer in the Ottoman army during the 1914-18 war.

After the war he joined the Iraqi army and was appointed Military Adviser to Sheikh Mahmud (q.v.) in 1923. Leaving Sheikh Mahmud when the latter's conduct became impossible, he was appointed Commandant of the Bagdad Military College with the rank of colonel. In 1929 he was sent on the Senior Officers' School course to the United Kingdom.

Mutasarrif of Sulaimaniya for a short time in 1930, he remained unemployed for several years afterwards but was ultimately appointed Director-General of Surveys. He resigned from Government service in 1941 and made a comfortable fortune as a contractor. Minister of Economics under Hamdi Pachachi 1944-46, of Education under Saleh Jabr in 1947, and of Social Affairs under Taufiq al Suwaidi in 1950. Made a Senator in 1948.

Appointed Honorary C.B.E. for war services in 1946. Elected second vice-president of Saleh Jabr's Popular Socialist Party in July 1951. Re-elected second vice-president in 1954. Although at first an enthusiastic supporter of Saleh Jabr, his faith in the party weakened and he was not upset when all political parties were abolished in November 1952. Again second vice-president in the revived party in 1953, but has largely abandoned politics after breaking with Saleh Jabr and being expelled from his party in the summer of 1954, when he tried unsuccessfully to lead the party to co-operation with Nuri.

He is a kind man, frank, affable and an Anglophile being honorary vice-president of the British Institute Club and chairman of the Board of Governors of the British Council-sponsored Preparatory School in Bagdad. His achievements in office fall short of his excellent intentions, and he is not a man to sway his colleagues. He speaks English, Persian and Turkish as well as Kurdish and Arabic. His wife, though a woman of little education, is very active in good works and ran the early stages of flood relief in 1954. She has established herself as the leading spirit in this field among the women of her generation. She speaks a little Turkish and some English.

#### 133. Umar Nadhmi

Kurd, born Kifri 1893. Educated at the Bagdad Law School, he was a civil judge before the 1914-18 war and Public Prosecutor to the Bagdad Military Court during the war.

He served as a judge again from 1921 to 1927, and from then to 1937 he was Mutasarrif in a number of provinces. Director-General of Revenues 1937-38.

Minister of Economics and Communications and later of Interior under Nuri Said 1939-40; of Communications and Works under Rashid Ali in 1940; of Interior under Taha al Hashimi in 1941 and under

Nuri Said 1943-44; of Justice under Taufiq al Suwaidi in 1946, under Nuri Said November 1946 to March 1947 and under Mohammed al Sadr January to March 1948; and of Interior under Muzanım Pachachi 1948-49. Deputy Prime Minister under Nuri Said 1949. Again Minister of Interior under Ali Jaudat December 1949 to February 1950 and again in February 1951 under Nuri Said, whose cabinet he joined as Minister without Portfolio in December 1950. He has been a Senator since 1939.

He probably owes his rise to eminence to the friends he made in the provinces (especially in the North) where he served as Mutasarrif, to the support of Nuri Said, and to a cautious and dignified demeanour. He is detested by Saleh Jabr's party. He speaks no English. He enjoys the Regent's confidence. He is disillusioned and in poor health and says he will take no further part in politics.

#### 134. Yahya Qassim

Sunni of Mosul, born 1913. Educated Bagdad Law College.

He joined Government service in 1936. Was appointed Superintendent in the Council of Ministers' Office in 1937 and later transferred to the Iraqi State Railways.

He was at that time an active Left-winger, and was reported to have a hand in the publication of the clandestine newspaper *Al Sharara*. In 1943 he was arrested for the distribution of Leftist literature and was discharged from the Iraqi State Railways. In 1944 he started the newspaper *Al Sha'ab* as the organ of the now defunct Leftist party of that name. He now owns and edits this paper himself, and it is no longer connected with any party. By the middle of 1953 it had become the best and most popular newspaper in Bagdad. He visited England with a party of journalists in 1945 and became a convinced and outspoken admirer of the British people. In 1946 he joined the National Democratic Party but soon resigned owing to personal differences. He was taken up by Saleh Jabr in 1947 and accompanied him to London in January 1948 for the signature of the unratified Portsmouth Treaty. In addition to journalism he practises as a lawyer and is paid a retainer by the Iraq Petroleum Company. Elected for Telafar in June 1954, displacing the paramount Shaikh of the Shammar, but he was not re-elected in September 1954. He has visited England every summer since 1949. In 1954 he went for the second time as a member of a sponsored press delegation. Visited Germany in 1955. He claims to be a moderate progressive on the lines of Nadim al Pachachi (q.v.) and Abdul Karim al Uzri.

Yahya is a clever young man with a frank and friendly manner and a pronounced stammer. His newspaper is above the low level of the Bagdad press, and he has the courage on occasion to express unpopular opinions. He regards Saleh Jabr as Iraq's main hope for the future, but he is also on close terms with Nuri. He has not abandoned his Socialist leanings and is a sincere advocate of reforms, but he is now no revolutionary. He is married to a niece of the late Amin Zaki Suleiman and speaks good English.

#### 135. Yusuf Abdullah al Gailani (Saiyid)

Sunni, born 1907 of the family of the Naqibs of Bagdad. Educated at Bagdad and Balliol College, Oxford.

He returned to Iraq in 1934 and was appointed to the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, in which he became Director of the Political Section in 1945. Director-General in 1949, Acting Under-Secretary in January 1951 and Under-Secretary in 1952. He became a Minister Plenipotentiary in the Iraqi Foreign Service in November 1950. He was a member of the Iraqi



Delegations to Arab League meetings in 1949 and 1950. Member of the Iraqi Delegation to the United Nations Assembly, 1951.

Yusuf is intelligent and friendly, cautious and a little shy. He takes no part in politics and is well informed only on those questions of Iraqi foreign policy on which he is employed. He complains of the amateurish and emotional conduct of Iraq's foreign relations by his successive political chiefs, and is occasionally critical of the intervention of the Regent in the detailed conduct of foreign affairs. He is, however, a loyal, discreet and competent official. He speaks excellent English, and his wife, who is also a Gailani, appears in mixed society.

### 136. Wajih Yunis

Born 1900. Joined Government service in 1921 and, after years of service as Inspector, was promoted in 1951 to be Senior Inspecting Officer. In 1954 was appointed by Said Qazzaz to be Director-General of Police—in the interests rather of filling senior police appointments from the ranks of the service than for any enthusiasm about Wajih Yunis's personal qualities, which are not outstanding. He is known to have been corrupt when Director of Police of Dulaim Liwa. He is not a strong character and without a strong Minister of the Interior little can be expected of him.

Speaks little English.